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Mr. *A D A M S*'s

*D E F E N C E*

OF THE

CONSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

---

V O L. II.



A

D E F E N C E

OF THE

CONSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY JOHN ADAMS, LL.D.

MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES AT BOSTON.

V O L. II.

As for us Englishmen, thank Heaven, we have a better sense of government, delivered to us from our ancestors. We have the notion of a public, and a constitution; how a legislative, and how an executive is moulded. We understand weight and measure in this kind, and can reason justly on the balance of power and property. The maxims we draw from hence are as evident as those of mathematics. Our increasing knowledge shews us every day more and more what common sense is in politics.

SHAFTESBURY'S Charact. vol. i. p. 108.

'Tis scarce a quarter of an age since such a happy balance of power was settled between our prince and people, as has firmly secured our hitherto precarious liberties, and removed from us the fear of civil commotions, wars, and violence, either on account of the property of the subject, or the contending titles of the crown.

L O N D O N :

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D E F E N C E

OF THE

Constitution of Government of the UNITED STATES of  
A M E R I C A.

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*Italian Republics of the Middle Age.*

Grosvenor-square, April 19, 1787.

My dear Sir,

**T**HERE is no example of a government simply democratical; yet there are many of forms nearly or remotely resembling what are understood by All Authority in one Centre. There once existed a cluster of governments, now generally known by the name of the Italian Republics of the Middle Age, which deserve the attention of Americans, and will further illustrate and confirm the principles we have endeavoured to maintain. If it appears, from the history of all the ancient republics of Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor, as well as from those that still remain in Switzerland, Italy, and elsewhere, that caprice, instability, turbulence, revolutions, and the alternate prevalence of those two plagues and scourges of mankind, tyranny and anarchy, were the effects of governments without three orders and a balance, the same important truth will appear, in a still clearer light, in the republics of Italy. The sketches to be given of these cannot be introduced with more

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propriety,

propriety, than by the sentiments of a late writer \*, because they coincide with every thing that has been before observed. Limited monarchies were the ancient governments : the jealousies and errors of the nobles, or the oppressions they suffered, stimulated them to render monarchy unpopular, and erect aristocracies. Ancient nations were, in one point, very generally defective in their constitutions, and that was the incertitude of the sovereignty, and, by consequence, the instability of government, which was, in all the republics of Italy, a perpetual occasion of infinite confusions. In no part of Italy, however united together, was found established an absolute hereditary monarch. By many examples, it is manifest, that kings either were created by the favour of the multitude, or sought at least their consent, and consulted the people in affairs of most importance and greatest danger. The government of the grandees, which succeeded, was rather a fraudulent or violent usurpation, than a true and proper aristocracy established by law, or confirmed by long and uncontested possession ; and a popular government was never so free, or so durable, as when it was mixed with the authority of one supreme head, or of a senate ; so that mixed governments were almost always preferred. One of the three kinds of governments nevertheless fell, when another arose ; and all the Italian republics, nearly at one time, by the same gradations, passed from one form of administration to another. In this particular agree all the memorials of ancient Italy. They were, from the beginning, governed by kings : the Tuscans had kings ; the Sabines had kings ; and so had the people of Latium ; and as every city formed an independent government, these

\* Danina, Rivoluzioni d'Italia, v. i. p. 41.



kings could not have much magnificence. Many states often obeyed the same king; for he who had the lordship of one city, procured himself to be elected the head of another. Porfenna, whom Dionylius calls king of Tuscany, because he was followed by many Tuscan nations, was from the beginning only king of Chiufi. The kings of Rome, by various means, gained the command of the Latin cities, which nevertheless, two centuries afterwards, reputed themselves still independent of the state of Rome. The king of the Veientes had the lordship of Fidena, a free city, and independent of the Veientes, in the same manner as the Viconti lords of Milan, Castruccio lord of Lucca, and the Scala lords of Verona, and so many other princes and tyrants of the later ages, before the exaltation of Charles the Fifth, made such progress in obtaining the sovereignty of many cities. These kingdoms were either simply elective, or at least required the express consent of the people, how often soever one relation succeeded to another. Royal governments nevertheless were generally displeasing to the people; and the grantees and nobles, who were the most exposed to the caprice of the prince, both in their persons and property, studied to generate in the minds of the common people an hatred to the name of king, and to excite the desire of liberty. They flattered themselves, that if the principality, which often fell into the hands of new men and adventurers, such as Tarquin in Rome, and Aristodemus in Cuma, were abolished, they should be able to live, not only with more security and greater licence, but with more authority, command, and power. In what nation, and in which city, the revolution first began, is not easy to determine; but in the course of the third century of the Roman æra, one people following the example of another, this

by means of one opportunity, and that by another, either expelled by violence their present kings, or desisted from electing new ones; and all Italy, hoisting as it were a common signal, changed at once its whole form of government. The odium of the royal name, and an enthusiasm for liberty, seized so universally, and with such energy, the whole Italian nation, that if any city wished either to continue or recover the use of kings, this inclination was scarcely manifested before they were pointed out and reviled by the other cities, and upon all great occasions abandoned. The Veientes\*, either from a disgust at the cabals and ambition which arose from the annual creation of new magistrates, or the better to provide for war, created afresh a king; by which resolution they incurred to such a degree the hatred and contempt of the other people of Tuscany, that, contrary to every rule of policy, duty, and custom, they were left alone to sustain that obstinate war with the Romans, which ended in their ruin. In the beginning of the fourth century of the Roman story, there is seldom or never any mention made of kings in any of the states of Italy. The whole authority and administration of public affairs passed into the hands of the nobility, senate, or that body which constituted at first the middle order between the king and the people, which became the supreme head of the government; and although the greater magistracies were elected by the voices or suffrages of the people, nevertheless all the honours and all the power of the government were collected in the grandees, who easily commanded the votes of the electors, and who alone were the elected; for none of the plebeians dared to pretend to offices, civil or military: and it is too

\* Liv. lib. v. c. 1.

evident, that in every kind of community, the rich and the noble endeavour, as it were, by their very nature, to exclude the common people and the plebeians. Most of the public affairs relative to peace or war were treated in a senate composed essentially of patricians and nobles, who, in every thing that regarded the constitution, inclined more to aristocracy than to popular government. No city was so mean or so ill ordered, as not to have a public council, or a senate. Livy speaks of the senate, not only of Naples, Capua, and Cuma, but of Nola, Pipernum, Tusculum, Tivoli, the Veientes, and of others, so frequently, that it is clear, that in all the republics there was an order distinct from the plebeians, who retained in their hands the essence of the government. But the plebeians, once become obstinate, at the solicitation of the nobility, in a hatred of tyranny, had not far to go before they opened their eyes upon their own condition, and learned that they had done nothing more than exchange one master for many; and began to make every exertion to obtain, in part, the possession of that liberty, of which they had obtained a taste in words from the order of patricians and the senate: and as the multitude began to make trial of their strength, the sovereign authority was ceded to them by little and little, and the nobility, in their turn, were tormented and tyrannised by the plebeians. Livy observes, that about the time of the Carthaginian war, by a kind of epidemical malady spread through the Italian republics, the plebeians applied themselves to persecute the nobility. Nevertheless, the order of the grandees always preserved a great part of the power; for the nature of popular government being variable, inconstant, and incapable of conducting itself, the senate and the nobility, who act with more maturity of deliberation, and with

interests more united, can generally counterpoise the party of the plebeians, and from time to time overcome it. From whence it happened, that all the cities were exposed to continual revolutions of government, and very rarely enjoyed that perfect equality, which is the end of a free state; but either the favour of the people, or the necessity of the senate, devolved the principal authority on some individual, who, with or without the title of supreme magistrate, was always regarded as the head of the government. Thus we find a Manilius, head of the Latins; an Accius Tullius, principal of the Volsci; an Herennius, of the Samnites; a Calavius, of the Campanians; a Valerius, a Camillus, and a Fabius, chief of the Romans: and, to speak the truth, there was never any great and important success in any free state, neither at home nor abroad, except in those times, when some one citizen held the wills of the public in his own power. But waving the rest of these general observations for the present, let us descend to particulars; and quitting the ancient republics of Italy, descend to those of the middle age, among which Florence is the most illustrious. As the history of that noble city and magnanimous people has been written by two authors, among a multitude of others, who may be compared to any of the historians of Greece or Rome, we have here an example more fully delineated; an experiment more perfectly made and more accurately described than any we have examined before. You will not, therefore, find it tedious to consider minutely the affairs of a brave and enlightened people, to whom the world is indebted for a Machiavel, a Guichardin, and an Americus Vespucius; in a great degree for the resurrection of letters, and a second civilization of mankind. Next to Athens and Rome, there has

not existed a more interesting city. Their history is full of lessons of wisdom, extremely to our purpose. We have all along contended, that the predominant passion of all men in power, whether kings, nobles, or plebeians, is the same; that tyranny will be the effect, whoever are the governors, whether the one, the few, or the many, if uncontrolled by equal laws made by common consent, and supported, protected, and enforced by three different orders of men in equilibrio. In Florence, where the administration was by turns in the nobles, the grandees, the commons, the plebeians, the mob, the ruling passion of each was the same; and the government of each immediately degenerated into a tyranny so insupportable, as to produce a fresh revolution. We have all along contended, that a simple government, in a single assembly, whether aristocratical or democratical, must of necessity divide into two parties, each of which will be headed by some one illustrious family; and will proceed from debate and controversy to sedition and war.—In Florence, the first dissension was among the nobility; the second between the nobles and commons; and the third between the commons and plebeians: in each of which contests, as soon as one party got uppermost, it split into two; and executions, confiscations, banishments, assassinations, and dispersions of families, were the fruit of every division, even with more atrocious aggravations than in those of Greece. Having no third order to appeal to for decision, no contest could be decided but by the sword. It will enable us the better to understand Machiavel, whose history will be abridged and commented on, if we premise from \* Nardi, that the city of

\* *Le Storie della Citta de Firenze*, p. 1.



Florence had, like all other cities, its people consisting of three generations of inhabitants, that is to say, the nobility, the people of property \*, and the common people. Although some too diligently divided the nobility into three sorts, calling the first nobles, the second grandees, and the third families, meaning to signify, that some of the inhabitants had come into the city and become citizens, having been deprived of their own proper country by conquest, while they were attempting to enlarge and extend their territories; others, originally of this country, had become abundant in riches and powerful in dependents, either by their own industry or the favour of fortune; and others, having been foreigners, had come in like manner to inhabit the city: but from their primitive condition, they still retained the distinctions of lord and vassal, by habit and by fraud, both in the city and the country. And all this mixture were indifferently called nobles, grandees, and families; and they were equally hated, contradicted, and opposed, in the government of the republic, and in all their other actions, by that party which was called the substantial people, *il popolo grasso*. The lower class of people, the plebeians, *il popolo minuto*, never intervened in government at all, excepting on one single occasion, when, with violence, they usurped it, as in its proper place will be related. Some persons made another division still of the plebeians, and not without reason; for those who possessed real estate in the city or country, and were recorded in the public books of taxes and tributes of the city, and were called the † *Enregistré*, esteemed themselves, and were considered by their fellow-

\* *Il popolo grasso, e il popolo minuto,*

† *Descritti,*

citizens, as holding a middle station. The remainder of the lower class, who possessed no kind of property, were held of no account. Nevertheless, all this undistinguished aggregate were called the people of Florence, and the expression is still in use, as the people of Athens, or the people of Rome, anciently comprehended the whole body of the inhabitants of those cities: to which confused, and in its nature pernicious aggregate, as that of the head and tail always is, the body of middling citizens will always remain extremely useful, and proportioned to the constitution of a perfect republic.—As Machiavel is the most favourable to a popular government, and is even suspected of sometimes disguising the truth to conceal or mollify its defects, the substance of this sketch will be taken from him, referring at the same time to other authors; so that those young Americans, who wish to be masters of the subject, may be at no loss for information. The most useful erudition for republicans is that \* which exposes the causes of discords; by which they may learn wisdom and unanimity from the examples of others. The factions in Florence are the most remarkable of any. Most other commonwealths have been divided into two: that city was distracted into many. In Rome, the contest between patricians and plebeians, which arose after the expulsion of kings, continued to the dissolution of the republic; the same happened at Athens, and all the other commonwealths of Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor.—Such was the patriotism or good fortune of Florence, that she seems to have gathered fresh vigour, and risen stronger for her factions. Some, who escaped in

\* Machiavel's Introduction.

the struggles, contributed more by their courage and constancy to the exaltation of themselves and their country, than the malignity of faction had done to distress them: and if such orders and balances had been established in their form of government as would have kept the citizens united after they had shaken off the yoke of the empire, it might have equalled any republic, ancient or modern, in military power and the arts of peace.

The city of Florence was begun by the inhabitants of Fiesole, who, situated on the top of a hill, marked out a plot of ground upon the plain between the hill and the river Arno, for the conveniency of merchants, who first built stores there for their goods. When the Romans had secured Italy, by the destruction of Carthage, this place multiplied exceedingly, and became a city, by the name of Villa Arnina. Sylla was the first, and, after him, the three Roman citizens who revenged the death of Cæsar and divided the empire, who sent colonies to Fiesole, who settled in the plain not far from the town already begun: and the place became so full of buildings and inhabitants, and such provisions were made for a civil government, that it might well be reckoned among the cities of Italy. Whence it took the name of Florence is not so well known. Tacitus calls the town Florentia, and the people Florentines. It was founded under the Roman empire; but when that was over-run by barbarians, Totilla, king of the Ostrogoths, took and demolished it. Two hundred years afterwards it was rebuilt by Charlemain, from whose time, till 1215, it followed the fortune of those who successively ruled in Italy; for, during that period, it was governed first by the posterity of Charlemain, then by the Berengarii, and last of all



all by the German emperors. In 1010 the Flo- 1010.  
rentines took and destroyed Fiesole. When the  
popes assumed greater authority in Italy, and the  
power of the German emperors was upon the  
wane, all the towns of that province began to  
govern themselves. In 1080 Italy was divided 1080,  
between Henry the Third and the church. The  
Florentines always submitted to the conqueror,  
until 1215. The longer it was before Florence  
was seized by the paroxysms of factions, the more  
fatal they proved. The cause of its first division  
is well known. The most powerful families in  
Florence, in 1215, were the Buondelmonti and 1215.  
the Uberti; and next to them the Amadei and  
Donati: a quarrel happened about a lady, and  
Messer Buondelmonti was killed. This murder  
divided the whole city, one part of it siding with  
the Buondelmonti, and the other with the Uberti;  
and as both of the families were powerful in alli-  
ances, castles, and adherents, the quarrel con-  
tinued many years, till the reign of the emperor  
Frederick the Second, who being likewise king of  
Naples, and desirous to strengthen himself against  
the church, and establish his interest more securely  
in Tuscany, joined the Uberti, who by his assist-  
ance drove the Buondelmonti out of Florence,  
and thus that city became divided, as all the rest  
of Italy was before, into the two factions, of  
Guelphs and Ghibellines; the former of which  
denominated the adherents of the pope\*, and the  
latter

\* *Danina, Rivoluzioni d'Italia.*—There flourished in Ger-  
many two principal families, the one called the Henries of  
Ghibilinga, and the other the Guelphs of Altdorp, which by  
the marriage of Azzo d'Este with Cunegund, daughter of  
Guelph the Third, ingrafted itself into the house of Este,  
called afterwards for that reason Guelphi Estense, from which  
are descended the dukes of Modena, and those of Brunswick  
and Hanover. From the first of which families, viz. the  
Ghibellines,

latter those of the emperor; Guelph being the name of the general of the first army for the church in this controversy, and Ghibelline that of the place of the birth of the general who commanded for the emperor, about 1139.—The Guelphs, thus driven out of the city, retired into the valley, which lies higher up the Arno, where their strong places and dependencies lay, and defended themselves as well as they could: but when Frederick died, the neutral people in the city endeavoured to re-unite it, and prevailed upon the Guelphs to forget the disgrace they had suffered, and return; and the Ghibellines to dismiss their animosities and receive them. After they were re-united, they divided the city into six parts, and chose twelve citizens, two to govern each ward, with the title of anziani, but to be changed every year. To prevent any feuds or discontents that might arise from the determination of judiciary matters, they constituted two judges that were not Florentines, one of whom was styled the captain

Anziani.

Ghibellines, have arisen many kings and emperors, as the third, fourth, and fifth Henry. Of the other, viz. the Guelphs, there had been for many years famous dukes, who contending for power and for credit with the emperors, had very often disturbed the tranquillity of the state. Under the reign of Henry the Fifth these two families happily united in alliance, because Fideric duke of Suavia, married Judith, daughter of Henry duke of Bavaria, and sister of Guelph the Sixth, who was at that time the head of the house of Altdorp.

Commentari de fatto civili occorsi dentro Firenze. Scritto dal Senatore Filippo de Nerli, p. 2.

Historia Fiorentina di M. Piero Buoninsegni, Gentiluomo Fiorentino, p. 35.

Annali d'Italia, da Muratori, tom. vii. p. 150, 151. anno 1215.

Historia civile del Regno di Napoli di Pietro Giannone, tom. iii. p. 82.

Muratori, Dissertations, tom. iii. p. 130.

Muratori, Antichita estensi, parte prima, c. xxxi. p. 305.

of

of the people, and the other the *podesta*, to administer justice to the people, in all causes civil and criminal : and since laws are but of little authority and short duration, where there is not sufficient power to support and enforce them, they raised twenty bands or companies in the city, and seventy-six more in the rest of their territories, in which all the youth were enlisted, and obliged to be ready armed under their respective colours, whenever they were required so to be by the captain of the *anziani*. Their standard-bearers were changed every year with great formality.

This is the very short description of their constitution. The twelve *anziani* appear to have had the legislative and executive authority, and to have been annually eligible—a form of government as near that of Mr. Turgot, and Marchamont Nedham, as any to be found ;—yet the judicial power is here separated, and the people could so little trust themselves or the *anziani* with this power that it was given to foreigners.—By such discipline in their civil and military affairs, says Machiavel, the Florentines laid the foundation of their liberty ; and it is hardly to be conceived, how much strength and authority they acquired in a very short time ; for their city not only became the capital of Tuscany, but was reckoned among the principal in Italy ; and indeed there is no degree of grandeur to which it might not have attained, *if it had not been obstructed by frequent and almost continual discords and divisions*.—After this pompous preamble, one can scarce read without smiling the words that follow, “ For the space “ of ten years they lived under this form of government ;” especially when it appears, that during all these ten years, they were constantly employed in wars abroad, as appears by the following

lowing words: "During which time they forced the states of Pistoia, Arezzo, and Siena, to enter into a confederacy with them; and in their return with their army from the last city, they took Volterra, demolished several castles, and brought the inhabitants to Florence."—The United States of America calculated their governments for a duration of more than ten years. There is little doubt to be made, that they might have existed under the government of state congresses for ten years, while they were constantly at war, and all the active and idle were in council or in arms: but we have seen, that a state which could be governed by a provincial congress, and indeed that could carry on a war without any government at all, while danger pressed, has lately, in time of profound peace, and under a good government, broke out in seditions. This democratical government in Florence could last no longer, for in all these expeditions, says Machiavel, the Guelphs had the chief direction and command, as they were much more popular and powerful than the Ghibellines, who had behaved themselves so imperiously in the reign of Frederick, when they had the upper hand, that they were become very odious to the people; and because the party of the church was generally thought to favour their attempts to preserve their liberty, whilst that of the emperor endeavoured to deprive them of it. The Ghibellines, in the mean time, finding their authority so dwindled; were not a little discontented, and only waited for a proper opportunity to seize upon the government again. They entered into correspondence with Manfred, the son of Frederick king of Naples, in hopes of his assistance; but for want of due secrecy in these practices, they were discovered by

by the anziani, who thereupon summoned the family of the Uberti to appear before them : but instead of obeying, they took up arms, and fortified themselves in their houses; at which the people were so incensed, that they likewise ran to arms, and, by the help of the Guelphs, obliged the whole party of the Ghibellines to quit Florence, and transport themselves to Siena. There they sued to Manfred for aid, who granted it, and the Guelphs were defeated upon the banks of the river Arbia, with such slaughter, by the king's forces under the conduct of Farinata degli Uberti, that those who escaped from it, giving up their city for lost, fled directly to Lucca, and left Florence to provide for itself. Manfred had given the command of the auxiliaries, which he sent to the Ghibellines, to count Giordino, a soldier of no small reputation in those times. This Giordino, after his victory, immediately advanced with the Ghibellines to Florence, and not only forced the city to acknowledge Manfred for its sovereign, but deposed the magistrates, and either entirely abrogated or altered all laws and customs that might look like remains of their former liberty; which being executed with great rigour and insolence, inflamed the people to such a degree, that if they did not love the Ghibellines before, they now became their inveterate and implacable enemies; which aversion continually increasing, at last proved their utter destruction.—There is an admirable example of patriotism at this period of the Florentine history, in Farinata Uberti, who successfully and decidedly opposed a plan of his own party of Ghibellines, and their allies, for the demolition of the city. He preserved it however only for his enemies the Guelphs, who, driven out of Lucca, went to Parma, and joined their friends the Guelphs in  
that



that city, drove out the Ghibellines, and had their confiscated estates for their reward: they then joined the pope against Manfred, who was defeated and slain. In consequence of this victory, the Guelphs of Florence grew daily bolder and more vigorous, and the party of the Ghibellines weaker and weaker; upon which count Guido Novello, and those that were left in commission with him to govern Florence, resolved to try, by lenity and gentler treatment, to recover the affections of the people, whom they found they had exasperated to the last degree by their oppressive and violent manner of proceeding. To cajole and ingratiate themselves with the people, they chose six and thirty citizens out of the people of Florence, and two gentlemen of higher rank from among their friends at Bologna, to whom they gave a commission to reform the state as they pleased. These delegates divided the city into distinct arts or trades, over which they constituted a magistrate, who was to administer justice to all who were in his department; and to every art a separate banner was assigned, under which they might assemble in arms, whenever the safety of the public required it. But count Guido must have a tax to maintain his soldiers: the citizens would not pay it. He attempted to take back the new privilege of magistrates to each trade: the people rose in arms, chose Giovanni Soldanieri for their leader, fought the count and his Ghibellines, and drove them out of the city. The people, having thus got the upper hand, resolved to unite the city if possible, and recal all such citizens as had been forced to leave their homes, whether Guelphs or Ghibellines. The Guelphs returned, after six years banishment; the late attempt of the Ghibellines was pardoned, and they were suffered to come back again;

again; but they still continued very odious both to the Guelphs and the people, the former not being able to forgive the disgrace and hardships of their long exile, nor the latter to forget their insolence and tyranny when they had the government in their hands: so that their ancient animosities were not yet entirely extinguished, either on one side or the other. The wrangle soon came to a crisis, and the Ghibellines fled out of the city, upon the interposition of a foreign force from Charles king of Naples, in favour of the Guelphs. After the departure of the Ghibellines, the Florentines new-modelled their government, and chose twelve principal magistrates, who were to continue in authority no longer than two months, under the title of *buonhomini*. Next in power under them they appointed a council of eighty citizens, which they called the *credenza*. After this, an hundred and eighty more were elected out of the people, thirty to serve every two months; who, together with the *credenza* and the twelve *buonhomini*, were called the general council. Besides which, they instituted another council, consisting of an hundred and twenty members, equally chosen out of the nobility, citizens, and commonalty, which was to confirm whatsoever had been resolved upon by the others, and to act jointly with them in disposing of the public honours and offices of the commonwealth. The first government of the *anziani* was as near a simple democracy as there is any example of: we found it, accordingly, ineffectual. The next, of *buonhomini*, was no better; and that could not support itself. Now we come to a new plan, which discovers, in the authors of it, a sense of the imperfection of the former two, and an attempt to obviate its inconveniences and dangers: but instead

*Buonho-  
mini.*

of a judicious plan, founded in the natural divisions of the people, it is a jumble which common sense would see, at this day, must fall to pieces. The *buonhomini*, the *credenza*, and the thirty of the hundred and eighty, wore an appearance of three orders; but instead of being kept separate, they are all huddled together in the general council. Another council still, of an hundred and twenty, equally chosen out of the nobility, citizens, and commonalty, was to confirm whatever was resolved on by the others. Here are two branches, with each a negative. But the mistake was, that the aristocratical and democratical parts of the community were mixed in each of them; which shows, at first blush, that there never could be harmony in either, both being naturally and necessarily split into two factions. But a greater defect, if possible, than even this, was giving the executive power, the power of disposing public honours and offices, to a joint assemblage of *buonhomini*, *credenza*, and the two other assemblies, all in one; the consequence must be, that although every one of these four orders must be divided at once into factions for the loaves and fishes, yet the nobility, by their superior influence in elections, would have the whole power. Unhappy Florence! thou art destined from this moment to never ending factions, seditions, and civil wars!—Accordingly, we read in the next page, what any one might have foreseen from this sketch of their constitution, “that the government of  
 “ Florence was fallen into great disorder and mis-  
 “ rule; for the Guelph nobility being the major-  
 “ rity, were grown so insolent, and stood in so  
 “ little awe of the magistracy” (and how could they stand in awe of magistrates whom they had created, and who were even at their devotion?) “that  
 “ though



“ though many murders, and other violences, were  
 “ daily committed, yet the criminals generally  
 “ escaped with impunity, through favour of one  
 “ or other of the nobles.” To restrain these  
 enormities, instead of twelve governors, they re-  
 solved to have fourteen, seven of each party, who  
 should be nominated by the pope, and remain in  
 office one year. Under this form of government,  
 in which they had been obliged in reality to sub-  
 mit to a foreign master, they continued for two  
 years, when the rage of faction again blazed out.  
 They rose in arms, and put the city under a new  
 regulation. In 1282 the companies of arts and 1282.  
 trades ordained, that instead of fourteen citizens,  
 three only should govern, and that for two months,  
 who were to be chosen indifferently out of the no-  
 bility or commons, provided they were merchants,  
 or professed any art or occupation; and these were  
 called priori. Afterwards, the chief magistracy Priori.  
 was vested in six persons, one for each ward, under  
 which regulation the city continued till the year  
 1342; but the course of events for these sixty 1342.  
 years should be carefully traced, in order to see  
 the operation of such a form of government, even  
 in a single city. This institution, as might be  
 expected, occasioned the ruin of the nobility, who,  
 upon divers provocations, were excluded, and en-  
 tirely suppressed by the people. The nobility,  
 indeed, were divided among themselves; and by  
 endeavouring to supplant each other, and aspiring  
 to the sole government of the commonwealth,  
 they quite lost all share in it. The priori were  
 afterwards distinguished by the name of signori. Signori.  
 There remained some sparks of animosity betwixt  
 the nobility and commonalty, which are incident  
 to all republics; for one side being naturally jea-  
 lous of any encroachment upon their liberty and

legal rights, and the other ambitious to rule and controul the laws, it is not possible they should ever long agree together. This humour, however, did not shew itself in the nobility while they were overawed by the Ghibellines; but when the latter were depressed, it began to appear, and the people were daily injured and abused in such a manner, that neither the laws nor the magistracy had authority enough to relieve them; as every nobleman supported himself in his insolence by the number of his friends and relations, both against the power of the signori and the captain of the people. The heads of the arts, to remedy so great an evil, provided, that every signori should appoint a standard-bearer of justice, out of the people, with a thousand men, divided into twenty companies, under him, who should be always ready with their standard and arms whenever ordered by the magistracy. This establishment met little opposition, on account of the jealousy and emulation that reigned among the nobility, who were not in the least aware that it was levelled at them, till they felt the smart of it. Then, indeed, they were not a little awed by it for some time: but in a while they returned to the commission of their former outrages; for as some of them always found means to insinuate themselves into the signori, they had it in their power to prevent the standard-bearer from executing his office. Besides, as witnesses were always required upon any accusation, the plaintiff could hardly ever find any one that durst give evidence against the nobility: so that in a short time Florence was involved in its former distractions, and the people exposed to violence and oppression; as justice was grown dilatory, and sentence, though passed, seldom or never executed. The people not knowing what  
course

course to take, Giano della Bella, a strenuous patriot, though of a very noble family, encouraged the heads of the arts once more to reform the city. It was enacted, that the gonfalonier should always reside with the signori, and have four thousand armed men under his command. They also entirely excluded the nobility out of that council, of the signori, and made a law that all accessaries or abettors should be liable to the same punishment with those that were principals in any crime, and that common fame should be sufficient evidence to convict them. By these laws, which were called *Li Ordinamenti della Giustizia* (but which were in reality as tyrannical as the edicts of any despot could be) the people gained great weight and authority; but Giano being looked upon by the nobility as the author of these laws to bridle their power, became very odious, not only to them, but to the richest of the commonalty: as well he might, for laws more oppressive and destructive of liberty could not have been made. Tyrannical as they were, however, they were not enough so for the people; for upon the trial of Corso Donati, a nobleman, for a murder, although he was acquitted even under these new laws, the people were enraged and ran to arms, and demolished the magistrate's house, instead of applying to the signori. The whole city exceedingly resented this outrage upon all law and government: the blame of it was laid upon Giano, and he was accused before the magistrate as an encourager of insurrection. While his cause was depending, the people took arms to defend him against the signori. Giano went voluntarily into banishment, to appease this tumult. The nobility then petitioned the signori, that the severity of the laws against them might be mitigated.

gated. As soon as this petition was publicly known, the commons, apprehending the signori would comply with it, immediately rose in a tumultuous manner: so that ambition on one side, and jealousy on the other, at last occasioned an open rupture between them, and both sides were prepared for battle; but by the interposition and mediation of some prudent men, whose arguments with both parties are very judicious, the people at last consented that no accusation should be admitted against a nobleman, without sufficient evidence to support it. Both parties laid down their arms, but retained their jealousies, and began soon to raise forces, and fortify themselves as fast as they could. The people thought fit to new model the government, and reduce the number of the signori, as they suspected some of that body to be too favourably inclined to the nobility. A momentary tranquillity succeeded; but the sparks of jealousy and envy still remained betwixt the nobility and people; which soon broke out, on occasion of a quarrel between two families, the Cherchi and Donati, both considerable for their riches, nobility, and dependents. The signori were under no small apprehensions that the whole city would become engaged in the dispute, and hourly expected the two parties would openly attack each other, as it soon afterwards happened, and a skirmish ensued, in which many were wounded on both sides. The whole city, commons as well as nobility, divided upon it; nor did the contagion confine itself to the city alone, but infected all the country. So ineffectual was this contemptible government of the signori to the suppression of this animosity, that the pope was applied to: he sent his nuncio to no purpose, and then put the city under an interdict; but this answered no end but to increase the confusion,

sion, and frequent battles took place, till the whole city took arms, neither the power of the magistracy, nor the authority of the laws, being able to restrain the fury of the multitude. The wisest and best of the citizens were in great terror; and the Donati, being the weaker party, not a little doubtful of their safety. Such is the effect of a government of all authority in one centre. Here all was concentrated in the signori, chosen by the people frequently enough; yet although the nobility were arbitrarily excluded from that council, those who were chosen were indebted for their elections probably to those very nobles, and chiefly to the Donati and Cherchi. The Donati here were the minority, upon the whole, and therefore had great reason to be doubtful of their safety. It was agreed, at a meeting betwixt Corso Donati, the heads of the Neri family, and the captains of the arts, to solicit the pope to send some person of royal extraction to reform the city. Here nature breaks out, in spite of all attempts to stifle it. A royal dignity is the most obvious thought, to extinguish animosities between nobles and commons. In this case the captains of the arts, that is, the people, perceived it, as well as Corso and the Neri, the contending nobles. This meeting, and the result of it, was notified to the signori by the other party, who represented it as a conspiracy against their liberty. Both sides, however, were in arms again, and Dante, who was one of the signori, had the courage to advise that sovereign assembly to draw out their companies, and being joined by great numbers out of the country, they found themselves able to force the chiefs of each party to lay down their arms. They assumed an appearance of dignity, banished Corso and the Neri, and, to shew their impartiality, several of the Neri. Bianchi. But this government had no permanent Bianchi.

strength : the Bianchi, upon plausible pretences, were soon permitted to return. Corso, and his associates, obtained the same indulgence ; but, instead of being quiet, they went to Rome, to persuade the pope to appoint a person of royal extraction, as they had before petitioned his holiness in their letters. Charles of Valois, brother of the king of France, was sent accordingly by the pope. Though the Bianchi family, who then had the upper hand in Florence, looked upon him with an evil eye, yet as he was patron of the Guelphs, and sent by the pope, they durst not oppose his coming : on the contrary, to make him their friend, they gave him full power to regulate the city as he thought best. He caused his friends to arm themselves : this made the people so jealous that he intended to deprive them of what they called their liberties, that they took arms. The Cherchi, and the heads of the Bianchi, having had the chief government of the city some time in their hands, and behaved with great arrogance, were become generally odious ; which encouraged Corso, and others of the Neri who had fled, to return, upon an assurance that Charles and the captains of the arts were their friends, and would support them. Accordingly, whilst the city was thus alarmed with the apprehensions of Charles's designs, Corso, with all his associates, and many other of their followers, made their entry into it, without resistance ; and though Veri de Cherchi was called upon to oppose them, he declined it, and said, " The people  
" might chastise them themselves, if they pleased,  
" as they were likely to be the greatest sufferers  
" by them." But that insinuation had no effect ; for instead of chastising them, they received them with open arms, whilst Veri was forced to fly for his safety. Corso having forced his entrance at  
the



the Porta Pinte, drew up and made a stand near his own house; and being joined by a great number of his friends and others, assembled in hopes of a change of government, he released all prisoners, civil and criminal; divested the signori of their authority; chose new magistrates, all of the party of the Neri, out of the people, to supply their places; and plundered the houses of the Bianchi. The Cherchi, and the heads of their faction, seeing the people for the most part their enemies, and Charles not their friend, fled out of the city, and in their turn implored the interposition of the pope, though they would not listen to his exhortations before. Such is the series of alternate tragedy, comedy, and farce, which was called the liberty of Florence, during this collection of all authority into one centre, the signori; in which no man of any party could be one moment secure of his life, property, or liberty, amidst continual exaltations and depressions of parties, in favour of different noble families, although those nobles were all excluded from the government. The exclusion was but a form: nearly all the power was in their hands, and the signori in office were only alternate tools of one noble family or another. And thus it must ever be: exclude the aristocratical part of the community by laws as tyrannical as you will, they will still govern the state underhand; the persons elected into office will be their tools, and, in constant fear of them, behave like mere puppets, danced upon their wires. But our humorous entertainment is not yet ended. The pope now, at the intercession of the Cherchi, sent a legate, Acqua Sparta, to Florence, who made an accommodation betwixt the Cherchi and Donati, and fortified it  
by

by several intermarriages between them. But this spiritual policy, though deep and sound, did not answer his end: for when he insisted that the Bianchi should share in the chief offices of the commonwealth, that was refused by the Neri, who were in full possession of them. Upon this the legate left the city as dissatisfied as ever, and excommunicated it a second time for its contumacy. The Neri, however, seeing their old enemies in their bosom again, were not a little afraid they would use all means to ruin them, in order to recover their former authority; and both parties were still discontented, and fresh occasions of discord soon occurred. Niccolo de Cherchi, and Simone, a son of Corso Donati, met and fought. The battle was so sharp and bloody, that Niccolo was killed upon the spot, and Simone so desperately wounded that he died the same night. This accident, as it is called, though an event springing necessarily from the form of government and state of parties, threw the whole city into an uproar again; and although it was altogether owing to the Neri, as Simone assaulted Niccolo, yet they were screened by the magistracy, and, before judgment could be obtained, a conspiracy was said to be discovered betwixt the Bianchi and Pietro Ferrante, a nobleman who attended Charles of Valois, with whom they had been tampering, to persuade his master to reinstate them in the government. The plot was detected by some letters from the Cherchi to Pietro; though it was the common opinion they were forged by the Donati, to wipe off the odium they had incurred by the murder of Niccolo de Cherchi. All the family of the Cherchi, with many of their followers of the Bianchi party, and



and among the rest Dante the poet\*, were immediately sent into banishment; their estates confiscated, and their houses demolished, by the strength of those forged letters. After which their party, with many of the Ghibellines who had joined them, were dispersed in different places.—The quiet that ensued was very short, for Corso Donati was dissatisfied that he did not enjoy such a degree of authority in Florence as he thought due to his merit, as the government was in the hands of the people, and conducted by those who were much inferior to him in all respects. To varnish over his designs and revenge with a fair pretext, he accused several citizens, who had been entrusted with public money, with embezzling it, and many were ignorant and credulous enough to believe that Corso did this out of pure concern and affection for his country. The persons thus calumniated were in favour with the people, and stood upon their justification, and, after many law-suits and long litigations, these disputes grew to such a height, that it became absolutely necessary to take up arms. On one side were Corso, and Lottieri, bishop of Florence, with many of the nobility, and some of the commons; on the other were the signori, and the greater part of the people: nothing was to be seen but affrays and skirmishes, in every part of the city.—In such a “right constitution” as this, such a government of “the people’s successive sovereign assemblies” as the signori were, the body of the nation never can be unanimous: all the most wealthy, best born, best educated, and ablest men, will unanimously despise and detest the government; except a few artful hypocrites among them, who

\* 1298. Nerli, p. 9.

will belye their judgments and feelings, for the sake of a present popularity for some private ends. Those who thus hate the form of government, will have numerous connections, relations, and dependents among the people, who will follow them; so that there never can be more than a small majority of the people on the side of government. Hence its constant weakness; hence it is a mere foot-ball, continually kicked from one side to another by three or four principal families. Thus it appeared in this case: the signori, feeling their weakness, and perceiving themselves in great danger, utterly unable to punish crimes, support their friends, or curb their enemies, were obliged to send to Lucca, a foreign state, for aid, and were fortunate enough to find all the people of that city willing to come to their assistance. The tumults were composed for a time, but the signori and people were too feeble to punish the author of the disturbance.—This interval of tranquillity was no more durable than former ones. The pope sent his legate, Niccolo da Prato \*, again, who ingratiated himself with the people, so that they gave him a commission to new model the city. In order to obtain the recall of the Ghibelline faction from banishment, he flattered the people, by restoring their ancient companies, which added much to their strength, and diminished that of the nobility. But the project of restoring the exiles was obnoxious to the signori, who forced the legate out of the city, which he put under an interdict at his departure, and left in the utmost confusion. Two factions not being sufficient, the city was now divided and subdivided into several; as those of the people and

\* 1303. Nerli, p. 9.

nobility, the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Bianchi and the Neri; and some who wished for the return of the exiles, being disappointed in their hopes, now the legate was gone, grew clamorous and outrageous: so that the whole city was in an uproar, and many skirmishes ensued. Those that were most active in raising this clamour, were the Medici and Giugni, who had openly sided with the legate in favour of the exiles. This is the first mention made of that family of Medici, who acted so distinguished a part afterwards, finally subverted the commonwealth, and changed it into an absolute sovereignty, under the title of a grand dukedom, a form it still wears.—A great fire broke out at this time, in 1304, and was ascribed, as usual in such times, by some to accident, and by some to party design.—Let us look back to 1282, when this government of priori or signori, chosen every two months by the people, was established: from thence to 1304 is only twenty-two years, in which we see a constant quarrel between the nobility and people, and between one party of nobles and another, and the neighbouring states of Naples, Rome, and Lucca, in turn, called in to aid the different factions; alternate murders, banishments, confiscations, and civil wars, as one party and the other prevailed; and, instead of a government, and a system of justice and liberty, constant anarchy, and the perpetual rolling of a mob. In this year, 1304, Florence was visited, in this lamentable manner, with fire and sword. Corso Donati was the only person of any distinction who did not take up arms: he thought, that when all parties grew tired of fighting, he was the more likely to be called in, arbitrator to decide their differences. They soon after laid down their arms, more out  
of

Medici.

1304.

of weariness of their miseries, and that they might have time to take breath, than from any real desire of being re-united, and living in peace. It was only stipulated, that the exiles should not be suffered to return; which was agreed to by those that favoured them, merely because they proved to be the weaker side.

New disturbances arising, the pope was advised by his legate to summon to Rome twelve of the principal malecontents of Florence, among whom was Corso Donati. They readily obeyed the summons.—As soon as they were set out upon their journey, the legate acquainted the exiles, that now was their time to return to Florence, as the city was then clear of the only men that had authority enough to oppose their entrance. Drawing together what forces they could, they immediately marched, and entered the city: but those very citizens, who, but a little before, had exerted themselves in the most strenuous manner for their return, when they petitioned in the most humble and submissive manner to be admitted, were the first that took up arms against them, now they saw them approach in a hostile manner, and joined with the people to drive them back. One is, however, astonished at the reflection of Machiavel, “Such was the spirit of patriotism amongst them in those days, that they cheerfully gave up their private interests for the public good,” when every page of his history shews, that the public good was sacrificed every day, by all parties, to their private interests, friendships, and enmities.—After the exiles were repulsed, the citizens relapsed into their former distractions; and, after much violence, the governors of the commonwealth re-established the companies of the people, and restored the colours under which the arts had

had formerly been used to assemble. The captains, standard-bearers of the companies, and the officers of justice, were called together, and ordered not only to assist the signori in times of peace with their counsel, but to support and defend them, by dint of arms, in all exigencies and commotions. To assist the two judges, who had been constituted in the beginning of their state, they appointed an officer, called *il esecutore*, or sheriff, who was to act in conjunction with the standard-bearers, and see their orders carried into execution, whenever the nobility should be guilty of any enormity or act of oppression. The pope died, and Corso and the other eleven citizens returned, whose restless ambition occasioned such troubles. Corso, in order to make himself popular, constantly opposed the nobility in all their schemes, and, which way soever he observed the people to incline, he turned all his authority to support them in it, and gain their affection: so that in all contests and divisions, or when they had any extraordinary point to carry, they always resorted to him, and put themselves under his directions. Machiavel indeed observes, “ that  
“ all might now have lived in peace, if the restless  
“ ambition of Corso had not occasioned fresh  
“ troubles.” But in this Machiavel is mistaken: if Corso had not existed, the people would have found some other leader and confident. When the people feel that the government is unable or unwilling to protect them against the oppressions of the nobles, they always seek out a Cassius, Mælius, Manlius, or Corso, to assist the government to protect them, or to erect a new government that will be able and willing. It is the defect in the government, and the wants of the people, that excite and inspirit the ambition of  
private

private men. To be sure, the man of any distinction, who listens to the complaints of the people in such cases, whether from ambition or humanity, always creates himself much hatred and envy among the most considerable citizens. In this case these passions increased to such a degree, that the faction of the Neri divided and quarrelled among themselves. To alienate the affections of the people from him, they gave out, as the aristocracy always does in such cases, that he secretly designed to seize upon the government, and make himself king; and his magnificent manner of living, and marriage into the family of Faggiuola, head of the Bianchi and Ghibellines, made it easily believed. His enemies took up arms against him, and the greater part of the people, instead of appearing in his defence, forsook him, and joined his adversaries. He was impeached, refused to obey the summons, was declared a contumacious rebel. A civil war ensued; many were killed on both sides. After a furious defence, Corso threw himself from his horse, and was killed. Such was the unfortunate end \* of Corso Donati, to whom his country and the Neri owed much, both of their good and bad fortune; one of the most eminent men that Florence ever produced. But Machiavel should have laid the blame upon the constitution, not upon the restless disposition or turbulent spirit of Corso; because it is impossible for a man of Corso's genius, valour, and activity, in such a government, not to be restless and turbulent; he is never safe himself, and large bodies of people are continually flattering and soliciting him, while others are threatening and persecuting him. No nation has a right to blame

\* Nerli, p. 9.



such a citizen, until they have established a form of government that is capable of protecting him on one side, and the people against him on the other. This flimsy sovereignty of the signori was inadequate to either purpose.

After the death of Corso, in 1308, the exiles from Florence excited Henry \*, the emperor, to a war against that city, for their restoration: the magistrates applied to Robert, king of Naples, and gave him the government of the city for five years, to defend it, and protect them. This storm, after raging some time, blew over, by the death of the emperor †. The Ghibellines then, under the command of Faggiuola, renewed the war, by making themselves masters of Pisa, and committing depredations on the Florentine territories. The Florentines fought him, and were totally defeated. They then applied to king Robert ‡ for another general: he sent them the count di Andria, whose bad conduct, “added,” says Machiavel, “to the impatient temper of the Florentines, which is soon tired with any form of government, and ready to fall into factions upon every accident,” occasioned the city to divide again. Machiavel’s severity ought, however, to have been applied to the form of government, not to the temper of the people, the latter being but the natural and necessary effect of the former. In such a government the people have no protection or security; they are continually oppressed, vexed, and irritated, by one faction or another, one ally or enemy or another, one aspiring citizen or family or another, against whose usurpations, as the constitution affords no redress, they are obliged to recur to arms and a

1308.

1313.

\* Nerli, p. 10.

† Ibid.

‡ Nerli, p. 10. Muratori, Annal. tom. viii. p. 40.

change of government. The Florentines, in this case, sought assistance from France and Germany, but could obtain none: they were determined, however, to carry their point, took arms, drove the count out of the city, and sent for one Lando, of Agobbio, and made him their effecutore, or rather dictator or executioner \*, with full power over all the citizens. Lando, being naturally rapacious and cruel, went about the city with a gang of armed men at his heels, hanging up one man and then another, as those who had sent for him gave him directions; and at last grew so insolent, that he coined bad money with the Florentine stamp, which nobody had courage enough to oppose, to such a height of power had he arrived by the dissensions of the citizens! Miserable indeed was the condition of the city at that time, which neither the bitter remembrance of the evils produced by their former dissensions, nor the dread of a foreign enemy at their gates, nor the authority of a king, was sufficient to keep united; though their possessions were daily ravaged and plundered abroad by Faggiuola, and at home by Lando. The nobility, most of the considerable commons, and all the Guelphs, took the king's side, and hated Lando and those who supported him; and, to free themselves from so ignominious a yoke, they wrote to king Robert privately, and intreated him to appoint count Guido his lieutenant at Florence, which he readily complied with; and the other party, though they had the signori on their side, durst not venture to oppose a man of so established a reputation. But the count soon found he had very little authority in the city, as the magistracy, and the standard-bearers of the several

\* Nerli, p. 10.



companies, openly favoured Lando and his friends. Soon afterwards the citizens were reconciled and united under the king, by the friendly counsel of his daughter-in-law, and Lando, deprived of his authority, was sent back to Agobbio satiated with blood and rapine \*. The government of the king of Naples was continued three years longer; and as the seven who were then in the signori were all of Lando's party, six others were added to them of the king's, and they continued thirteen for some time, but were afterwards reduced to seven again. 1316.

About this time Castruccio Castracani † drove out Faggiuola, and succeeded him in the government of Lucca and Pisa. The Florentines had enough to do to obstruct the growth of the power of this spirited and fortunate youth at the head of the Ghibelline interest, and to defend themselves against him. That the signori in this war might proceed with maturer deliberation, and execute with greater authority, they chose twelve citizens, whom they called *buonhomini*, without whose advice and consent the signori were not to pass any act of importance. But this effort of nature to form a balance to this simple government was of short duration: the dominion of king Robert expired, and the government once more reverted to the citizens, who set up the same form of magistracy that had been formerly instituted. The whole city was soon obliged to march against Castruccio, to the relief of Prato, and a proclamation was issued by the signori, that every exile of the Guelph party, who came in to the relief of Prato, should afterwards have liberty to return home. This policy added four thousand men to 1323.

\* Nerli, p. 11.

† Ibid.

their army, which before consisted of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. Castruccio, afraid of so formidable a force, retreated to Lucca. Upon this retreat, great disputes arose in the Florentine camp, between the nobility and people, about pursuing Castruccio: these debates were referred to the signori, which, consisting at this time of commoners as well as of nobility, was as much divided in opinion. Upon this the people rose in a tumult, and forced the signori to give way to them; but it was now too late to follow Castruccio, and the people were so exasperated, that they would not suffer the public faith to be kept with the exiles. The nobility had some regard to their honour, though the people had not, and took the part of the exiles, which produced another civil war. As it generally happens in all commonwealths, that after any revolution or remarkable crisis some or other of the old laws are abrogated, and new ones made in their room, so though the signori at first was changed every two months, yet the magistrates who were now in office, having great power, took upon themselves to constitute a signori out of all the most considerable citizens, to continue forty months, whose names were to be put into a bag or purse, which was called imborfation, and a certain number of them drawn out by lot at the end of every second month; whereas before, when the old magistrates went out of office, new ones were always chosen by the council. As the council consisted only of the most considerable citizens, the government was before but a self-created, or at least self-continued aristocracy: now it was equally so, with this difference only, that lot was substituted in the room of choice. As the lot was not to be now renewed till after a term of above three years, it was thought they

they had extinguished the causes of all such distempers and tumults as used to happen from the frequent return of elections, and the number of competitors for the magistracy; not being aware how little advantage and how many mischiefs were likely to flow from it.

In 1325, in a war with Castruccio, the Florentines were betrayed by their general Raymondo. This man saw that the Florentines had been so liberal in disposing of themselves, that they had sometimes conferred their government upon kings, sometimes upon legates, and sometimes upon persons of much inferior quality; he thought, if he could reduce them to any extremity, they perhaps would make him their prince: he was very importunate with them to give him the same command in the city that he had over their army, as he pretended he could not otherwise either require or expect that necessary obedience which was due to a general. Not being gratified, he trifled and delayed, till he was attacked and defeated, with great slaughter, and the loss of his own life; receiving that punishment from the hands of fortune, that his ambition and perfidy had merited from the Florentines. The havoc, the depredations, imprisonments, burnings, and every other kind of devastation made by Castruccio upon the Florentines after this victory, forced them to offer their government to Charles duke of Calabria\*, son of king Robert, upon condition that he would defend them; for as that family had been used to rule over them, they chose rather to shelter themselves under him as their prince, than to trust him as an ally. But Charles, being engaged in the wars of Sicily, sent Gualtier, a Frenchman, and duke of

1325.

1326.

\* Nerli, p. 12.

Athens, as his lieutenant, who new-modelled the magistracy as he thought fit. His behaviour was, in appearance, at first so modest and temperate, that he gained the affections of every one.

1326. In 1326 Charles came in person with a thousand horse, and his presence gave some check to Castruccio, and prevented him from roving and plundering the country as he had done: but if the citizens saved any thing abroad, it was lost again at home; and when their enemies were curbed, they became a prey to the insolence and oppression of their friends. As the signori were entirely under the influence of the duke of Athens, he exacted four hundred thousand florins from the city, in one year, though it was expressly stipulated in the agreement made with him, that he should not raise above two hundred thousand in the whole; besides which, either Charles or his father were continually laying some heavy tax or other upon the citizens. These miseries were still increased by new jealousies, fresh enemies, and more extensive wars, in which all the neighbouring powers were involved, till suddenly Castruccio, and Charles, duke of Calabria and lord of Florence, both died. The Florentines, unexpectedly delivered from the oppression of one, and dread of the other, and having once more recovered their liberty, began to reform the commonwealth. They abrogated the ordinances of all former councils, and created two new ones, one of which consisted of three hundred of the commons, and the other of two hundred and fifty of both commoners and nobility: the former was called the council of the people, and the latter the common council.

After the death of Castruccio, in 1328, till the  
year

year 1340, the Florentines continued wholly intent upon their affairs and wars abroad. In 1340 new disturbances arose at home. The governors of the city had two ways of maintaining and increasing their authority: one was, by managing the imbursements in such a manner as always to secure the signori either to themselves or their creatures; the other, by getting judges chosen who they knew would be favourable to them in their sentences. And how is it possible, in any simple government, to prevent such management, to draw all the legislative, executive, and judicial power into one centre, and that centre a junto of aristocrats? But in this case, not content with two judges, the governors sometimes constituted a third, whom they called captain of the guards; with which office they now vested Jacomo d'Agobbio, and gave him an absolute power over the citizens. This Jacomo, under the direction of the governors, behaved with the most shameless intolence and partiality, daily injuring or affronting somebody or other. Some who were nobly born, and men of high spirit, were provoked to such a degree, that a stranger should be introduced into the city by a few of their fellow-citizens who had the power in their hands, on purpose to insult and abuse all the rest, that they entered into a conspiracy, with many other noble families, and some of the commoners, that were disgusted at so tyrannical a government, to revenge themselves: hence a conspiracy, that again involved the city in blood, in 1340. By artifice and force together, the signori prevailed, and suppressed the conspiracy, beheading some, and proclaiming several other families rebels\*. How-

\* Nerli, p. 14.

ever, it did not satiate the revenge of those in administration, to have conquered and suppressed those families: but, like almost all other men, whose insolence commonly increases with their power, they grew more imperious and arbitrary as they grew stronger; for though they had only one captain of the guards to tyrannise over the city before, they now appointed another to reside in the country, and vested him with very great authority; so that any one who was in the least obnoxious to government could not live quietly, either within the city or without it. The nobility, in particular, were daily abused and insulted by them in such a manner, that they only waited for an opportunity to revenge themselves at any rate; and as one soon happened, they did not fail to take advantage of it. The Florentines had purchased Lucca, and carried on a war to recover it; but, after a long struggle, were driven out of it, with much dishonour, and the loss of all their purchase-money. This disaster, as it usually happens in like cases, threw the people of Florence into such a rage against their governors, that they publicly insulted and upbraided them with their ill conduct and administration, in all places, and upon every opportunity.

In the beginning of the war, the management of it had been committed to twenty citizens, who appointed Malatesta de Rimini commander in chief of their forces in that expedition: but as he executed that charge with little courage, and less discretion, they solicited Robert, king of Naples, for supplies; which he accordingly sent them, under the command of Gualtier, duke of Athens, who, as the evil destiny of the city would have it, arrived there just at the time when the enterprise against Lucca had miscarried.

The



The duke of Athens arrived at this time\*, and the governors being in great fear of the multitude, made him conservator of the peace and commander in chief, that he might have both authority and power enough to defend them. The nobility now resolved to take their revenge, even though it should occasion the destruction of the city; imagining there was no other way left to get the better of the people, who had so long domineered over them, but to reduce them into subjection to a prince, who, being well acquainted with the worth and generosity of the nobility, and the insolence of the commons, might treat both parties according to their deserts. They had many private meetings to persuade the duke to take the government wholly into his hands, and promised to support him with all their interest and power. Several of the most considerable commoners joined them, particularly the families of the Peruzzi, Acciaivoli, Antellesi, and Buonaccorsi. Such encouragement, and so fair an opportunity, inflamed the duke, who was naturally ambitious, with a still greater thirst of power; and to ingratiate himself with the lower sort of the people, by acting like a just and upright magistrate, he ordered a process to be commenced against those that had been entrusted with the management of the late war against the Lucchese: in consequence of which Giovanni de Medici and two others were put to death, several others banished, and many obliged to pay large sums of money for their pardon. This severe manner of proceeding alarmed the middle sort of citizens, though it was very grateful to the nobility and common people, as the latter generally take pleasure in executions, and

\* Nerli, p. 15.



1342.

the former were not a little rejoiced at the fall of those by whom they had been so grievously oppressed: so that, whenever the duke passed through the streets, they resounded with acclamations and praises of his justice and resolution, while every one exhorted him to persevere in his endeavours to detect the guilty, and bring them to condign punishment. Notwithstanding all the expostulations of the signori, in 1342, in an assembly of all the people, the government was given to the duke for life, and he was carried about in a chair, amidst the acclamations of the multitude; the standard of the city was torn to pieces, and the duke's planted in his stead, at which all the good citizens were infinitely grieved and mortified, whilst those who, either out of malice or stupidity, had consented to this election, did not a little rejoice.

Machiavel's next task is to give us a detail of the duke's tyrannical behaviour, which was as wild, cruel, and mad, as all other tyrannies have been which were created on the ruins of a republic. The duke perceived the general odium he had incurred; but affected to think himself extremely beloved. He was informed of a plot against him, in which the family of the Medici, and others, were concerned; but he ordered the informer to be put to death. He cut out the tongue of Bettoni for complaining of heavy taxes, &c. His outrages were sufficient to rouse the Florentines, who neither knew how to value their liberty, nor endure slavery, says Machiavel. But the truth is, they had no liberty to value, and nothing but slavery to endure: their constitution was no protection of right; their laws never governed. They were slaves to every freak and passion, every party and faction, every aspiring or disappointed noble: sometimes

sometimes to the pope, sometimes to the king of Naples, sometimes to Lando; sometimes to one nobleman, sometimes to another; sometimes to their own signori, and sometimes to their captains of arts. If the word republic must be used to signify every government in which more than one man has a share, this must be called by that name it is true; but a republic and a free government may be different things.

There were now three conspiracies on foot against the duke at once; but each conspiracy was a new system of tyranny, and aimed only at introducing one system instead of another, instead of any concert, or reasonable combination, to take down a bad government and set up a good one. The three natural divisions of society formed three different plots to set up a new tyranny, each in its own way: the nobility had one plot, the commons another, and the artificers a third. What ideas of the rights of mankind must these people have entertained! The commons had been deprived of the government, and they had no idea that the nobility or artisans had any rights; the nobility were not restored to the government, which was all they wanted; and the artisans had lost their business: but none of these orders could communicate with the others. Assassinations of the duke seems to have been all the object in view, as if that would remedy all the evils: the plots, however, were too freely communicated, and at last were told to the duke.

In 1343 the city was all in a tumult, and  
“ Liberty, liberty!” was the cry. A war was  
carried on in the city, and each party changed  
sides several times; but, after long distractions,  
and much bloodshed and devastation, the duke  
was blocked up in the palace, and the citizens  
assembled

assembled to reform the government. Fourteen persons, one half of them of the nobility, and the other commoners, with the archbishop, had full power given them to new-model the state. The judicial department was committed to six magistrates, who were to administer justice till the arrival of the person who should be chosen to fill that office. "Greater, certainly," says Machiavel, "and more cruel, is the resentment of the people when they have recovered their liberty, than when they are acting in defence of it; and an instance of brutal ferocity happened here that is a disgrace to human nature. The people insisted upon some persons being delivered up to them, and among them a father and son; when these were brought out and delivered up to thousands of their enemies: and though the son was not eighteen, yet neither his youth nor innocence, nor the gracefulness of his person, were sufficient to protect him from the rage of the multitude. Many who could not get near enough to reach them whilst they were alive, thrust their swords into them after they were dead; and not content with this, they tore their carcases to pieces with their nails and teeth, that so all their senses might be glutted with revenge; and after they had feasted their ears with their groans, their eyes with their wounds, and their touch with tearing the flesh off their bones, as if all this was not enough, the taste likewise must have its share and be gratified." This is Machiavel's description of this savage barbarity; and his words are here preserved, that it may be seen and considered, that human nature is the same in a mob as upon a throne, and that unbridled passions are at least as brutal and diabolical, and unlimited power as tyrannical, in a mob as in a monarch or senate:

senate: they are worse, for there is always a number among them who are under less restraints of shame and decency. After the people were thus satiated with blood, the duke and his friends were suffered to withdraw with their effects unmolested out of Florence. After some disputes between the nobility and people, it was agreed that one third of the signori, and one half of the other magistrates and other officers of state, should consist of the nobility. The city was divided into six parts, each of which chose one of the signori; and though it sometimes happened that their number was increased to twelve or thirteen, yet they were afterwards again reduced to six. But as these six parts were not duly proportioned, and they designed to give more power and authority to the nobility, it was necessary to make a new regulation in this point, and to increase the number of signori. They divided the city therefore into quarters, and chose three of the signori out of each. The standard-bearer of justice, and those of the several companies, were laid aside; and instead of the twelve buonhomini, they created eight counsellors, four of each quality.

“The commonwealth,” says Machiavel, “being settled upon this bottom, might have continued quiet and happy, if the nobility could have been content to confine themselves within the bounds of that moderation which is requisite in all republican governments.” It is impossible to read these grave reflections of Machiavel and Nedham, so often repeated, with patience. It would be as wise to say, that the nation might be quiet and happy under a despot or monarch, if the despot or monarch, and his ministers and minions, could be content and moderate; or that the commonwealth might be happy under an oligarchy or simple aristocracy, if  
all

all concerned in government could be content and moderate. When we know human nature to be utterly incapable of this content, why should we suppose it? Human nature is querulous and discontented wherever it appears, and almost all the happiness it is capable of arises from this discontented humour. It is action, not rest, that constitutes our pleasure. All we have to do is to guard and provide against this quality; we cannot eradicate it. “But the behaviour of the nobility was quite the contrary,” says Machiavel; “for as they always disdained the thoughts of equality, even when they lived a private life, so now they were in the magistracy they thought to domineer over the whole city, and every day produced fresh instances of their pride and arrogance; which exceedingly galled the people, when they saw they had deposed one tyrant, only to make room for a thousand.” All this one may safely believe to be exactly true; but what then? Why, they ought to have separated the nobles from the commons, and made each independent on the other. Mixed together, in equal halves, the nobles will for ever tyrannise. The insolence of one side, and the indignation and impatience of the other, at last increased to such a height, that both sides flew to arms, and the people, being most numerous, carried their point, and deprived the nobles in the signori of their authority: the four counsellors of their order were also turned out of their offices, and the remaining number increased to twelve, which consisted of commoners only. Besides which, the eight which remained in the signori not only made a new standard-bearer of justice, and sixteen other standard-bearers over the companies of the people, but modelled all the councils in such a manner, that  
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the government was now entirely in the hands of the people; and we shall soon see how well it operated.—There happened a great dearth in Florence, so that there were grievous discontents both among the nobility and common people; the former repining at the loss of their authority, and the latter murmuring for want of bread. Andrea Strozzi sold corn as cheap as Mælius did in Rome. This drew such numbers to his house, that he boldly mounted his horse one morning, and putting himself at the head of them, called upon all the rest of the people to take up arms: by which means he got together above four thousand men in less than an hour, and conducting them to the palace of the signori, demanded the doors of it to be thrown open to him. This attempt was too bold and rash to succeed; yet it gave the nobility fresh hopes of recovering their power, now they saw *the inferior sort of people* so incensed *against the commons*. They resolved to take arms, and make use of all manner of allies to regain that by force which they conceived had been taken from them with so much injustice; and to insure success, they provided themselves with arms, fortified their houses, and sent to their friends in Lombardy for supplies. The commons and the signori, on the other hand, were no less busy in arming themselves, and sent to the Sieneſe and Perugians to desire their assistance; so that when the auxiliaries on each side arrived the whole city was soon in arms.—We ought to pause here, and remark a combination of parties that is perfectly natural, though it has seldom occurred in the history of any nation so distinctly as to be descanted on by historians or politicians. Here is as distinct a division between the commons and the lower class, as there ever was between nobles and commons.



commons. By the commons in this place are meant, those citizens who in every nation of the world are commonly denominated *the middling people*, who, it must be confessed, have been, in all ages and countries, the most industrious and frugal, and every way the most virtuous part of the community. In all countries they have some influence; in many they have had some share in the government: but no instance but this is at present recollected where they have ever had a sovereignty in their hands, exclusive both of the highest and lowest classes of citizens. As if it had been the intention of Providence to exhibit to mankind a demonstration, that power has the same effects upon all minds, we find in this instance the Florentine commons discovering the same disposition to tyrannise over all above and all below them, as clearly as ever kings, nobles, or mobs, discovered it when they had the power. The nobility drew up in three divisions. The commons, assembled under the standard of justice, and the colours of their respective companies, and under the command of the Medici, immediately attacked one of the divisions of the nobility. At this time the Medici were only commoners: we shall hereafter see that they became nobles and sovereigns, and have placed sons and daughters on some of the thrones of Europe. The action was hot and bloody for three hours, during which they had great stones tumbled down upon their heads from the tops of the houses, and were terribly galled with cross-bows below. All parties behaved with an obstinate bravery, that would have done honour to any good cause; but it is unnecessary to relate all the attacks and defences, and all the vicissitudes of fortune, in the course of the civil war: the numbers of the commoners finally prevailed, “upon which,”



“ which,” says Machiavel, “ the people, especially the inferior sort of them, naturally rapacious and greedy of spoil, began to plunder the houses of the nobility, which they afterwards burnt down to the ground; and committed such other outrages, as the bitterest enemy to the city of Florence would have been ashamed of.” The nobility being in this manner entirely subdued, the people took upon them to reform the state; and as there were three degrees of them, it was ordained, that the highest rank should have the nomination of two of the signori, the middle sort of three, and the lowest of three more, and that the standard-bearer of justice should be chosen by turns out of all three. The old laws were revived and put in execution against the nobility; and, to reduce them still more effectually, many of them were incorporated with the other classes \*. By these means they were brought so low, that they became abject and pusillanimous, and never durst rise any more against the people: so that being deprived of their arms and honours, their spirit and generosity likewise seemed to be extinguished. After this depression of the nobles, the plague, of which above ninety-six thousand people died in Florence, and a war with the Vicenti, kept the city in tranquillity till 1353. The war being ended, new factions sprung up in the city: for though the nobility were ruined, fortune found other means to raise fresh troubles and dissensions. 1353.

The bitter animosities which generally happen between the people and nobility, from an ambition in the one to command, and a reluctance in the other to obey, are the natural sources of those

\* Nerli, p. 18. Molti avveliti si fanno popolani.

calamities that are incident to commonwealths; for all other evils that usually disturb their peace are both occasioned and fomented by this contrariety of dispositions. It was this that kept Rome so long divided. This also gave birth to the factions that sprung up in Florence; though indeed it produced very different effects at last in the two cities: for the disputes that first arose between the nobility and people of Rome were determined by reason and expostulation; but those at Florence by the sword. In Rome, that was effected by the laws, which in Florence could hardly be done by the banishment and death of numbers of their citizens. The quarrels of the Romans still added to their spirit and military virtue; while those of the Florentines utterly extinguished them. The former destroyed that equality which was at first established, and introduced a prodigious disparity among the citizens: the latter, on the contrary, abolished all superiority or difference of rank, and put every man upon the same level. This diversity of effects must certainly have proceeded from a difference of views. The people of Rome desired no more than to share with the nobility in the administration of the commonwealth; but the people of Florence were not only desirous to have the government of the state to themselves, but used violent measures, and took up arms to exclude their nobles from any part in it: and as the terms of the Roman people were more moderate, their demands seemed not unreasonable to the nobility, who therefore complied with them; so that, after some little bickerings, and without coming to an open rupture, a law was made, by which the people were satisfied, at least for a time, and the nobles continued in their honours and offices. On  
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the other hand, the demands of the Florentine people were so extravagant and injurious, that the nobility took up arms to support their privileges, and their quarrels grew to such a height, that numbers were either banished or slain before they could be ended; and the laws afterwards made, were calculated rather for the private advantage of the victors, than the good of the public. The success of the people of Rome made that state more powerful; for as they were equally admitted to govern the commonwealth, and to command their armies and provinces, with the nobility, they became inspired with the same virtue and magnanimity; and as they grew more public spirited, their power also increased. But in Florence, when the people had subdued the nobility, they divested them of all manner of authority, and left them no possibility of recovering any part of it, except they would entirely conform to their customs and way of living, and not only submit to appear, but to be commoners like themselves. And this was the reason that induced them to change their arms and vary their titles, and the names of their families, which was so frequent in those times among the nobility, in order to insinuate themselves into the affections of the people: so that the military spirit, and greatness of soul, for which the nobility had been held in such veneration, was utterly extinguished, and not by any means to be raised in the people, where there were no seeds of it; by which means Florence became every day more abject and pusillanimous. And whereas Rome at last grew so powerful and wanton by the effect of its virtue, that it could not be governed otherwise than by one prince; Florence was reduced so low, that a wise legislator might easily have modelled it, and given it what form he pleased.

The factions between the nobility and the commons, which ended in the utter ruin of the former, have been already related; but peace was not obtained. All authority was in one centre, the commons; and there were other orders of citizens who were not satisfied: the same contest therefore continued, under a new form and new names. They now happened between the commons and plebeians, which were only new names, in reality, for a new nobility and commons: the commons now took the place of the nobility, and the plebeians that of the commons. Machiavel is as clear and full for a mixed government as any writer; but the noble invention of the negative of an executive, upon a legislature in two branches, which is the only remedy in contests between nobles and commons, seems never to have entered his thoughts; and nothing is more entertaining than that mist which is perpetually before eyes so piercing, so capable of looking so far through the hearts and deeds of men as his, for want of that thought. “There seemed to be no seeds of future dissensions left in Florence.” No seeds! Not one seed had been eradicated: all the seeds that ever existed remained in full vigour. The seeds were in the human heart; and were as ready to shoot in commons and plebeians, as they had been in nobles. “But the evil destiny of our city, and want of good conduct, occasioned a new emulation between the families of the Albizi and the Ricci\*, which produced as fatal divisions

\* Erano in que' tempi così fatti gli Albizi, e' Ricci due famiglie popolane intra l'altre di gran reputazione, e di molto seguito, per esser di parentado grandissimo, ed erano in ciascheduna di esse, uomini grandi, e reputati, e che aspiravano molto alli primi gradi del governo, e alla grandezza dello stato

“ divisions as those between the Buondelmonti and  
 “ Uberti, and the other between the Cherchi and  
 “ Donati, had done before.” It was no evil destiny peculiar to Florence : it is common to every city, nation, village, and club. The evil destiny is in human nature. And if the plebeians had prevailed over the commons, as these had done over the nobility, some two plebeian families would have appeared upon the stage, with all the emulation of the Albizi and Ricci, to occasion divisions and dissensions, seditions and rebellions, confiscations and banishments, assassinations, conflagrations, and massacres, and all other such good things as appear for ever to recommend a simple government in every form. When it is found in experience, and appears probable in theory, that so simple an invention as a separate executive, with power to defend itself, is a full remedy against the fatal effects of dissensions between nobles and commons, why should we still finally hope that simple governments, or mixtures of two ingredients only, will produce effects which they never did, and we know never can ? Why should the people be still deceived with insinuations, that those evils arose from the destiny of a particular city, when we know that destiny is common to all mankind ?  
 “ Betwixt the two families of Albizi and Ricci  
 “ there was a mortal hatred, each conspiring the  
 “ destruction of the other, in order to engross the  
 “ sole management of the commonwealth with  
 “ less difficulty \*. However, they had not as yet  
 “ taken

stato loro, e però traendo ad un medesimo segno, era tra loro l'odio, e l'emulazione, ma non già erano venuti a manifesta divisione, nè all' armi, per infino all' anno 1353. Nerli, p. 21.

\* E però Uguccone de Ricci restringendosi, come capo di quella

“ taken up arms, or proceeded to open violence  
 “ on either side, but only thwarted each other in  
 “ council, and the execution of their offices.”—A  
 private quarrel happened in the market, and a rumour was instantly spread, nobody knew by whom, that the Ricci were going to attack the Albizi; and by others it was said, that the Albizi were preparing to fall upon the Ricci. These stories were carried to both parties, and occasioned such an uproar throughout the whole city, that the magistrates found it very difficult to keep the two families, and their friends, from coming to a battle in earnest; though neither side had intended any such thing, as was maliciously reported. This disturbance, though accidental, inflamed their former animosities, and determined both sides to strengthen their parties, and be upon their guard: and since the citizens were reduced to such a degree of equality by the suppression of the nobility, that the magistrates were held in greater reverence than ever they had been before, each family resolved to avail themselves rather of public and ordinary means, than of private violence.

The intrigues of these two families to supplant each other are very curious; but as the detail of them is long, we shall leave the Reader to amuse himself with them at his leisure, and come to a speech made to the signori, by an eminent citizen, when affairs were become so critical and dangerous as to alarm all impartial men. “ The com-

quella famiglia, con gli suoi consorti, e con i primi capi della loro setta, pensarono di poter privar del governo gli Albizi, come discesi anticamente d'Arezzo, e però regnanti del Ghibellino ogni volta, che si ritrovasse una legge, per la quale era proibito a qualunque disceso di Ghibellino di poter esercitare officio, o magistrato alcuno, la quel legge era disufata, nè piu s'adoperava, nè si metteva in atto o s'osservava in modo alcuno. Nerli, p. 21.

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“ mon disease,” says he, “ magnificent signiors,  
“ of the other cities in Italy has invaded ours,  
“ and is continually eating deeper and deeper into  
“ its vitals. All our towns, for want of due re-  
“ straint, have ran into extremes, and from liberty  
“ degenerated into downright licentiousness, mak-  
“ ing such laws and instituting such governments,  
“ as were rather calculated to foment and support  
“ factions, than maintain freedom. From this  
“ source are derived all the defects and disorders  
“ we labour under : no friendship or union is to  
“ be found among the citizens, except betwixt  
“ such as are accomplices in some wicked design,  
“ either against their neighbours or their country;  
“ all religion and fear of God are utterly ex-  
“ tinguished; promises and oaths are no further  
“ binding than they serve to promote some pri-  
“ vate advantage, and taken, not with any design  
“ to observe them, but as necessary means to fa-  
“ cilitate the perpetration of villanies, which are  
“ even honoured and applauded as good conduct,  
“ if they meet with success. From hence it  
“ comes to pass, that the most wicked and aban-  
“ doned wretches are admired as able, enterprising  
“ men; while the innocent and conscientious  
“ are laughed at, and despised as fools. The  
“ young men are indolent and effeminate; the  
“ old, lascivious and contemptible: without re-  
“ gard to age or sex, every place is full of the  
“ most licentious brutality, for which the laws  
“ themselves, though good and wholesome, are  
“ yet so partially executed, that they do not afford  
“ any remedy. This is the real cause of that  
“ selfish spirit which now so generally prevails,  
“ and of that ambition, not for true glory, but  
“ for places which dishonour the possessors:  
“ hence proceed those fatal animosities, those seeds



“ of envy, revenge, and faction, with their usual  
“ attendants, executions, banishments, depression  
“ of good men, and exaltation of the wicked.—  
“ The ringleaders of parties varnish over their  
“ pernicious designs with some sacred title: for  
“ being, in reality, enemies to all liberty, they  
“ more effectually destroy it, by pretending to  
“ defend the rights sometimes of the nobility,  
“ sometimes of the commons; since the fruit  
“ which they expect from a victory is not the  
“ glory of having delivered their country, but the  
“ satisfaction of having conquered the opposite  
“ party, and secured the government of the state  
“ to themselves; and when once they have ob-  
“ tained that, there is no sort of cruelty, injustice,  
“ or rapine, that they are not guilty of. From  
“ thenceforward laws are enacted, not for the com-  
“ mon good, but for private ends; war and peace  
“ are made, and alliances concluded, not for the  
“ honour of the public, but to gratify the hu-  
“ mours of particular men: our laws, our statutes,  
“ and civil ordinances, are made to indulge the  
“ caprice, or serve the ambition of the conqueror,  
“ not to promote the true interest of a free peo-  
“ ple; so that one faction is no sooner extin-  
“ guished, but another is lighted up. A city that  
“ endeavours to support itself by parties instead  
“ of laws, can never be at peace; for when one  
“ prevails, and is left without opposition, it neces-  
“ sarily divides again. When the Ghibellines were  
“ depressed, every one thought the Guelphs would  
“ then have lived in peace and security; and yet  
“ it was not long before they divided into the fac-  
“ tions of the Neri and Bianchi. When the Bianchi  
“ were reduced, new commotions arose, sometimes  
“ in favour of the exiles, sometimes betwixt the  
“ nobility and people: and to give that away to  
“ others,

“ others, which we could not or would not possess  
“ quietly ourselves, we first committed our liberties  
“ into the hands of king Robert, then of his  
“ brother, next of his son, and last of all to the  
“ mercy of the duke of Athens, never settling or  
“ reposing under any government ; as people that  
“ could neither be satisfied with being free, nor  
“ submit to live in slavery. Nay, so much was  
“ our state inclined to division, that rather than  
“ acquiesce under the government of a king, it  
“ meanly prostituted itself to the tyranny of a  
“ vile and pitiful Agobbian. The duke of Athens  
“ was no sooner expelled, but we took up arms  
“ again, and fought against each other with more  
“ rancour and inveteracy than ever, till the an-  
“ cient nobility were entirely subdued, and lay at  
“ the mercy of the people. It was then the general  
“ opinion there would be no more factions or  
“ troubles in Florence, since those were humbled  
“ whose insupportable pride and ambition had  
“ been the chief occasion of them : but we now  
“ see that pride and ambition, which was thought  
“ to be utterly extinguished by the fall of the no-  
“ bility, now springs up again among *the people*,  
“ who begin to be equally impatient for autho-  
“ rity, and aspire with the same vehemence to the  
“ first offices in the commonwealth. It seems the  
“ will of Heaven that certain families should  
“ spring up in all commonwealths to be the pest  
“ and ruin of them : our city owes its miseries  
“ and distractions not merely to one or two, but  
“ to several of those families ; first to the Buon-  
“ delmonti and Uberti, next to the Donati and  
“ Cherchi, and now, to our shame be it spoken,  
“ to the Ricci and Albizi. Why may not this  
“ commonwealth, in spite of former examples to  
“ the contrary, not only be united, but reformed  
“ and

“ and improved by new laws and constitutions ?  
 “ *You must not impute the factions of our ancestors*  
 “ *to the nature of the men, but to the iniquity of the*  
 “ *times*, which being now altered, afford this city  
 “ fair hopes of better fortune ; and our disorders  
 “ may be corrected by the institution of whole-  
 “ some laws, by a prudent restraint of ambition,  
 “ and by prohibiting such customs as tend to  
 “ nourish and propagate faction, and by substi-  
 “ tuting others that may conduce to maintain li-  
 “ berty and good civil government.”

This speech, although upon the whole it is excellent, has several essential mistakes. That certain families will spring up in every simple government, and in every injudicious mixture of aristocracy and democracy, to be the pest and ruin of them, is most certain. It is the will of Heaven that the happiness of nations should depend upon the use of their reason, as well as that of individuals ; they must therefore provide for themselves constitutions, which will restrain the ambition of families : without the restraint, the ambition cannot be prevented ; nature has planted it in every human heart. The factions of their ancestors ought not to have been imputed to the iniquity of the times ; for all times and places are so iniquitous. Those factions grew out of the nature of men under such forms of government ; and the new form ought to have been so contrived, as to produce a remedy for the evil. This might have been done ; for there is a way of making the laws more powerful than any particular persons or families.—As this advice was conformable to the sentiments of the signori, they appointed fifty-six citizens\* to provide for the safety of the commonwealth : but

\* Nerli, p. 22. Fece creare una balia de 56 cittadini.

as most people are fitter to preserve good order, than to restore it when lost, these citizens took more pains to extinguish the present factions, than to provide against new ones, which was the reason that they succeeded in neither; for they not only did not take away the occasion of fresh ones, but made one of those that were then subsisting so much more powerful than the other, that the commonwealth was in great danger. They deprived three of the family of Albizi, and as many of the Ricci, of all share in the magistracy for three years, except in such branches of it as were particularly appropriated to the Guelph party; of which number Pietro degli Albizi and Uguccone de Ricci were two. These provisions bore much harder upon the Ricci than the Albizi; for though they were equally stigmatized, yet the Ricci were the greater sufferers. Pietro, indeed, was excluded from the palace of the signori, but he had free admittance into that of the Guelphs, where his authority was very great; and though he and his associates were forward enough in their admonitions before, they became much forwarder after this mark of disgrace, and new accidents occurred, which still more inflamed their resentment. Gregory the Eleventh was pope at that time, and residing at Avignon, as his late predecessors had done, he governed Italy by legates, who being haughty and rapacious, had grievously oppressed several of the cities. One of these legates being then at Bologna, took advantage of a scarcity, and resolved to make himself master of Tuscany. This occasioned the war with the pope\*. The Florentines entered into a confederacy with Galeazzo, and all the other states that were at va-

\* Nerli, p. 23.

riance with the church ; after which they appointed eight citizens for the management of it, whom they invested with an absolute power of proceeding, and disbursing money without controul or account. This war gave fresh courage to the Ricci, who, in opposition to the Albizi, had upon all occasions favoured Galeazzo, and appeared against the church ; and especially because all the eight were enemies to the Guelphs : but though they made a vigorous war against the pope, they could not defend themselves against the captains and their adherents. The envy and indignation with which the Guelphs looked upon the eight, made them grow so bold and insolent, that they often affronted and abused them, as well as the rest of the principal citizens. The captains were no less arrogant ; they were even more dreaded than the signori, and men went with greater awe and reverence to their houses than to the palace ; so that all the ambassadors who came to Florence were instructed to address themselves to the captains.

After the death of the pope, the city had no war abroad, but was in great confusion at home ; for, on one hand, the Guelphs were become so audacious, that they were no longer supportable ; and on the other, there was no visible way to suppress them : it was necessary, therefore, to take up arms, and leave the event to fortune. On the side of the Guelphs were all the ancient nobility, and the greater part of the more powerful citizens : on the other were all the inferior sort of people, headed by the eight, and joined by George Scali, Strozzi, the Ricci, the Alberti, and the Medici. The rest of the multitude, as it almost always happened, joined with the discontented party. The power of their adversaries seemed to be very  
great

great to the heads of the Guelphs, and their danger great, if at any time a signori that was not on their side should attempt to depress them. They found the number of persons who had been admonished was so great, that they had disobliged most of the citizens, and made them their enemies. They thought there was no other remedy, now they had deprived them of their honours, but to banish them out of the city, seize upon the palace of the signori, and put the government of the state wholly into the hands of their own creatures, according to the example of the Guelphs, their predecessors, whose quiet and security was entirely owing to the total expulsion of their enemies: but as they differed in opinion about the time of putting their project in execution, the eight, aware of the trick intended, deferred the imbursement, and Sylvestro, the son of Almanno de Medici, was appointed gonfalonier \*. As he was born of one of the most considerable families of the commoners, he could not bear to see the people oppressed by a few grandees. With Alberti, Strozzi, and Scali, he secretly prepared a decree, by which the laws against the nobility were to be revived, the authority of the captains retrenched, and those who had been admonished admitted into the magistracy. Sylvestro being president, and consequently prince of the city for a time, caused both a college and council to be called the same morning; but his decree was thrown out as an innovation. He went away to the council, and pretended to resign his office, and leave the people to choose another person, who might either have more virtue or better fortune than himself: upon this, such of the council as were in the secret, and others who wished for a

\* Nerli, p. 23.

change,



1378. change, raised a tumult in 1378\*, to which the signori and the colleges immediately repaired; and seeing their gonfalonier retiring, they obliged him, partly by their authority, and partly by their entreaties, to return to the council, which was in great confusion. Many of the principal citizens were threatened, and treated with the utmost insolence; among the rest, Carlo Strozzi was collared by an artificer, and would have been knocked on the head, if some of the by-standers had not rescued him. But the person who made the greatest disturbance was Benedetto degli Alberti, who got into one of the windows of the palace, and called out to the people to arm; upon which the piazza was instantly full of armed men, and the colleges were obliged to do that by fear, which they would not come into when they were petitioned. But whoever intends to make any alteration in a commonwealth, and to effect it by raising the multitude, will find himself deceived, if he thinks he can stop where he will, and conduct it as he pleases. The design of Sylvestro was to quiet and secure the city, but the thing took a very different turn; for the people were in such a ferment, that the shops were shut up, the houses barricadoed, and many removed their goods for security into churches and convents. All the companies of the arts assembled, and each of them appointed a syndic. The signori called the colleges together, and were a whole day in consultation with the syndics, how to compose the disorders to the satisfaction of all parties; but they could not agree. The council, then, to hold out some hopes of satisfaction to the arts and the rest of the people, gave a *full power*, which the Florentines call a *balìa*, to the signori, the colleges, the eight, the

\* Muratori, Annal. tom. viii. p. 375. Gino Camponi del tumulto de' Ciompi, tom. xviii. *Rer. Italic.*

captains of the parties, and the syndics of the arts, to reform the state. But while they were employed in this, some of the inferior companies of the arts, at the instigation of certain persons, who wanted to revenge the late injuries they had received from the Guelphs, detached themselves from the rest, and went to plundering and burning houses: they broke open the jails, set the prisoners at liberty, and plundered the monasteries and convents. The next morning the *balia* proceeded to re-qualify the *ammoniti*, *the admonished*, though with an injunction not to exercise any function in the magistracy for three years: they repealed such laws as had been made by the Guelphs to the prejudice of the other citizens, and proclaimed rebels many who had incurred the hatred of the public; after which the names of the new signori were published, and Louigi Guicciardini declared their gonfalonier\*. If those who were admonished, the *ammoniti*, could have been content, the city was in a fair way of being quieted; but they thought it hard to wait three years longer, before they could enjoy any share in the magistracy. The arts assembled again to obtain satisfaction for them, and demanded of the signori, that for the good and quiet of the city it should be decreed, that no citizen for the future should be admonished as a Ghibelline, who had ever been one of the signori or the college, or the captains of the companies, or the consuls or syndics of any of the arts; and further, that a new imbursement should be made of the Guelph party, and the old one burnt. It seldom happens that men who covet the property of others, and long for revenge, are satisfied with a bare restitution of their own. Accordingly some,

\* Nerli, p. 24.

who

who expected to advance their fortunes by exciting commotions \*, endeavoured to persuade the artificers, that they could never be safe, except many of their enemies were either banished or cut off.

The city continued in the utmost confusion between the two new parties of commons and plebeians. But waving a particular detail, the essence of several years miseries may be collected from two speeches. One is of Louigi Guicciardini, a standard-bearer to the plebeians :—" The more we  
 " grant," says he, " the more shameless and arrogant  
 " are your demands. Others may flatter you, but  
 " we shall always think it our duty to tell you  
 " plainly, and without disguise, what we think is for  
 " your good. What is there, in the name of God,  
 " that you can reasonably ask more of us? You  
 " desired to have the captains of the parties de-  
 " prived of their authority; they have been de-  
 " prived. You insisted that the old imbrication  
 " should be burnt, and a new one made; we con-  
 " sented. You wanted to have those reinstated  
 " in the magistracy, that had been admonished;  
 " it has been granted. At your intercession we  
 " pardoned such as had been guilty of burning  
 " houses, and robbing churches, and banished  
 " many of our principal citizens at your instiga-  
 " tion. To gratify you, the grandees are bridled  
 " with new laws, and every thing done that might  
 " give you content: where then can we expect  
 " your demands will stop; or how long will you

\* Fu facile a Salvestro de Medici, e a gli altri, levato che fu tumulto, vincer la legge; ma non fu già loro così facile, nè poterano a posta loro fermare il tumulto mosso nel popolo, e nella plebe, che s'era anco Sollevata in modo, che da questo rumore ne seguì l'arsione, e il sacco di molte case. Attese la sfrenata moltitudine due, o tre giornia a saccheggiare, e, ardere quello potette. Nerli, p. 24.

“ thus abuse your liberty? Why will ye suffer  
“ your own discords to bring the city into slavery?  
“ very? What else can ye expect from your  
“ divisions? what, from the goods ye have already  
“ taken, or may hereafter take from your fellow-  
“ citizens, but servitude and poverty? The persons  
“ you plunder are those whose fortunes and  
“ abilities are the defence of the state, and if  
“ they fail, how must it be supported? Whatever  
“ is got that way cannot last long; and then ye  
“ have nothing to look for but remediless famine  
“ and distress.” These expostulations made some  
impression, and they promised to be good citizens  
and obedient; but a fresh tumult soon arose, more  
dangerous than the former. The greater part of  
the late robberies, and other mischiefs, had been  
committed by the rabble and dregs of the people;  
and those of them who had been the most audacious  
apprehended, that when the most material  
differences were composed they should be called  
to an account for their crimes, and deserted, as it  
always happens, by those very persons at whose  
instigation they had committed them. Besides which,  
the inferior sort of people had conceived an hatred  
against the richer citizens and principals of the  
arts, upon a pretence that they had not been  
rewarded for their past services in proportion to  
what they deserved.

To show how divisions grow, wherever human  
nature is without a check, it is worth while to be  
particular here. When the city was first divided  
into arts, in the time of Charles the First, there  
was a proper head or governor appointed over  
each of them, to whose jurisdiction, in civil cases,  
every person in the several arts was to be subject.  
These arts or companies, as we have said, were at  
first but twelve, but afterwards they were increased

to twenty-one, and arrived at such power and authority, that in a few years they wholly engrossed the government of the city : and because some were more and others less honourable among them, they came by degrees to be distinguished, and seven of them were called the greater arts, and fourteen the less. From this division proceeded the arrogance of the captains of the parties ; for the citizens who had formerly been Guelphs, to which party those offices were always appropriated, had made it a constant rule to favour the greater arts, and to discountenance the less, and all those who sided with them ; which chiefly gave occasion to all the tumults we have hitherto made mention of : and, as in the division of the people into arts and corporations there were many trades in which the meaner sort are usually occupied that were not incorporated into any distinct or particular company of their own, but admitted into any of the others, according as the nature of their craft made them fit, it happened that when they were not duly satisfied for their labour, or any otherwise oppressed by their masters, they had no other head to apply to for redress but the magistrate of that company, to which the person belonged that employed them, who, they commonly thought, did not do them justice. Now, of all the companies in the city, that of the clothiers had the most of this sort of people depending upon it ; and being more opulent and powerful than any of the rest, it maintained by far the greater part of the multitude. The meaner sort of the people, therefore, both of this company and the others, were highly enraged at such treatment ; and being also terrified at the apprehension of being punished for their late outrages, they had frequent meetings in the night ; where, considering

ing what had happened, they represented to each other the danger they were in ; and to animate and unite them all, one of the boldest and most experienced of them harangued his companions in this manner. “ If it was now to be debated, “ whether we should take arms, to plunder and “ burn the houses of our fellow citizens, and rob “ the churches, I should be one of those who “ would think it worthy of great consideration, and “ perhaps be induced to prefer secure poverty to “ hazardous gain. But since arms have been already taken up, and much mischief done, the first points to be considered are, in what manner we must secure ourselves, and ward off the penalties we have incurred. The whole city is full of rage and complaints against us, the citizens are daily in council, and the magistrates frequently assembled. Assure yourselves, they are either preparing chains for us, or contriving how to raise forces to destroy us. It behoves us, therefore, to have two objects chiefly in view at these consultations : first, how to avoid the punishment due to our late misdeeds ; and, in the next place, what means are to be used that we may enjoy a greater degree of liberty and satisfaction for the future than we have done hitherto. To come off with impunity for our past offences, it is necessary to add still more to them, to redouble our outrages, to rifle and burn a great number of houses, and arfully depend upon our numbers for protection ; for where many are guilty none are chastised. Small crimes are punished, and great ones usually rewarded ; and where many suffer, few seek revenge ; a general calamity being always borne with more patience than a particular one. To redouble our crimes, is the surest way to procure



“ a pardon for what has been already done, and  
“ to obtain the liberty we desire; nor is there any  
“ difficulty to discourage us. The enterprize is  
“ easy, and the success not to be doubted of. Our  
“ enemies are opulent indeed, but divided; their  
“ disunion will give us the victory, and their  
“ riches, when we have got them, will maintain  
“ it. Let not the antiquity of their blood, nor  
“ the meanness of our own, with which they so  
“ insolently upbraid us, either dazzle or overawe  
“ you. All families having the same original,  
“ are of equal antiquity; nor has Nature shewn  
“ any partiality in the formation of mankind.  
“ Let both sides be stripped naked, and both will  
“ be found alike. Cloath yourselves in their robes,  
“ and them in your rags, and then you will appear  
“ the nobles, and they the plebeians; for it is po-  
“ verty alone that makes the real difference betwixt  
“ us. It fills me with just concern, indeed, to  
“ hear that some of you repent, forsooth, of what  
“ you have done, and, out of a qualm of consci-  
“ ence, resolve to proceed no farther. Neither  
“ conscience nor the fear of infamy ought to ter-  
“ rify you; for those who succeed in their attempts,  
“ let them have used what means soever, are never  
“ upbraided with them, or called by ignominious  
“ names; and as for conscience, you have no rea-  
“ son to give yourselves any trouble about it.  
“ When famine, and racks, and dungeons, are  
“ sure to be our portion, what greater terrors can  
“ there be in hell?” The speech is long, and all  
in the same strain. It so inflamed his audience,  
that they determined to rise, and took an oath to  
stand by each other. The signori had secret in-  
formation of the plot, but although they took the  
best measures in their power, the government had  
not sufficient energy to prevent or suppress the  
tumult:

tumult : they burnt many houses, and committed all sorts of outrages. If any one of the plebeians had been injured or affronted by a particular citizen, he led the mob directly to his enemy's house; nay, it was sufficient barely to mention the person's name, or to call out "*to such a man's house,*" or "*to such a man's shop.*" They gluttoned themselves with mischief, and then, to crown all, they knighted sixty-four citizens, among whom was their favourite Sylvestro de Medici. Their levity was very curious, for they conferred the honour of knighthood upon some of those very persons whose houses they had burnt down but a few hours before. Such is the caprice of the multitude, and so soon are their disgusts changed into favour and affection! The behaviour of the signori and the council of the people, was such as might be expected from men conscious of having neither dignity nor authority derived from the laws. Before a law could be passed, it was necessary it should have the assent of the common-council, as well as of the signori. It was contrary to established custom for two councils to be held on the same day; so that when the signori had agreed, it was necessary to wait till next day for the common-council to deliberate upon the demands of the mob. These demands were extremely grievous and dishonourable to the government: one of them in particular, that no person that was incorporated into the arts should be compelled to pay any debt, under the sum of fifty ducats, in two years, at which time the principal only should be paid to the creditor, and the interest into the bank. Yet the signori had agreed to them, and the common-council were the next morning deliberating: the multitude, naturally voluble and impatient, got together again under the palace. The law passed;

Michael  
di Lando.

but the destruction of the city was not the less expected. The signori and counsellors left the palace one by one, and the people entered it. *Hæc natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur.* When the people entered the palace, Michael di Lando, a wool-comber, a bare-footed ragged fellow, carried the standard of justice before them. "You see, my " friends," said Michael, "the palace and city " are in your hands; how would you have them " disposed of?" They unanimously cried out, that he should be their chief magistrate, and govern the city as he pleased. Michael, a shrewd fellow, more obliged to nature than fortune, accepted the government, with a design however to compose the city. To amuse the people, he sent them to search for Ser Nuto, the hangman, and immediately issued a proclamation, that nobody should dare to burn or plunder any man's house for the future; and, to enforce the observance of it, he ordered a gibbet to be erected in the great piazza. The mob soon brought Ser Nuto into the piazza, and hung him up by one leg upon the gibbet; and, as every one tore away a joint, or a piece of his flesh, in two or three minutes there was nothing left of him but one of his feet.

Michael gallantly new-modelled the state, appointed a new signori, and gave the rents of all the shops upon the Old Bridge to Sylvestro de Medici; took a good share to himself, and was very liberal to many other citizens, who had befriended the plebeians, not only out of gratitude for past favours, but to engage them to support him in future against envy. But the plebeians thought Michael had been too partial to some of the principal commoners, flew to arms again, appointed eight heads over them, with other subordinate of-

ficers and magistrates ; so that the city had now two tribunals, and was governed by two distinct administrations. They took away all honours and emoluments that had been granted to Sylvestro de Medici, and to Michael di Lando. But Michael shewed himself in valour, generosity, and prudence, far superior to any other citizen, and well deserves to be reckoned among those few that have been real benefactors to their country. If he had been of an ambitious or self-interested disposition, the republic must have relapsed into a more intolerable degree of servitude than it was under the tyranny of the duke of Athens : but his integrity would not suffer him to cherish any design that might be prejudicial to the good of the public, and his prudence taught him to conduct himself in such a manner, as not only gained him the first place and confidence of his own party, but enabled him to triumph over that of his enemies. He suppressed this new rebellion against his authority with great address and spirit, and those proceedings struck a terror into the plebeians, and opened the eyes of the better sort of people, who could not help wondering at their own stupidity, that after they had suppressed the pride of the nobility, they could so patiently submit to be insulted by the very dregs and refuse of the city. When Michael obtained this compleat victory over the plebeians, the new signori was already appointed, two of whom were of so base and abject condition, that every one seemed desirous to rid themselves of such infamous magistrates. When the new signori entered on the magistracy, there was an uproar in the piazza, which was full of armed men, who shouted with one voice, " No plebeians in the " signori !" The rest of the signori, in order to appease the tumult, degraded their two associates,

and chose two others in their room: they likewise dissolved the plebeian companies, and deprived all those of their offices who had any connection with them, except Michael, and a few of the best of them. They also divided the subordinate magistracy into two separate jurisdictions, one of which was to preside over the greater arts, and the other over the less. For the signori, it was only provided in general, that five of that body should be drawn out of the less companies, and four out of the greater, and the standard-bearer alternately out of each. Sylvestro de Medici, and a few others, who had promoted this new regulation, became in a manner the chief governors of the city. These proceedings, and this new model of government, revived the old divisions betwixt the more considerable commoners, and the lower sort of mechanics, which had first been occasioned by the ambition of the Ricci and Albizi: and because they afterwards produced terrible consequences, Machiavel henceforward distinguishes these two factions by the names of the *Popular* and the *Plebeian*.

Popular  
and ple-  
beian  
factions.

Though this constitution of government lasted but three years, it abounded with executions and banishments; for as those who were chiefly concerned in the administration well knew there were great numbers of malecontents, both within the city and without it, they lived in perpetual fear and alarm. The disaffected within the walls, either actually did, or were supposed to cabal daily against the state; and those without were continually raising disturbances abroad by the assistance of foreign princes or republics, sometimes in one part, sometimes in another. In such a government, the laws are insulted by every party in turn. Accusations were laid before the magistrates  
against

against a number of citizens, for corresponding with the exiles at Bologna, concerning a plot against the city : the prisoners were examined, and nothing criminal could be proved against them. The magistrates were going to acquit and discharge them; the people rose in such a ferment of clamour and calumnies, that the magistrate was forced to pass sentence of death upon them. Their executions occasioned fresh murmurs and discontents in the city ; so that both those who had got the upper hand, and those who were depressed, lived in continual fear and suspicion of each other. Dreadful indeed were the consequences which flowed from the apprehensions of the former, as every little accident furnished them with a handle to trample on their fellow-citizens, some of whom they daily put to death, or sent into exile. They likewise made several new laws to strengthen their hands, and keep those down of whom they entertained the least suspicion. These suspicions growing stronger and stronger every day, made them behave with more rigour to the other party ; a manner of proceeding that only served to multiply their discontents, and to increase instead of allaying their own fears, which were not a little heightened by the insolence of Georgio Scali and Tomaso Strozzi, whose authority was much superior to that of the magistrates ; and therefore they all stood in awe of those two citizens, as they knew it was in their power, if they should join the plebeians, to turn them entirely out of the administration.

This intemperate and tyrannical manner of governing began to grow intolerable, not only to all good citizens, but even to the seditious themselves ; and it was not possible that the arrogance of Scali in particular could be long supported. By delivering  
a friend



a friend and tool of his out of the hands of justice, by a mob, he soon furnished his enemies with a fair opportunity not only of wreaking their own private revenge upon him, but of delivering the commonwealth out of his hands, and the hands of the plebeians, who had so unmercifully tyrannised over it for three years. They engaged in this design Benedetto, a man of immense fortune, very humane, strict in his morals and principles, a steady friend to the liberties of his country, and sufficiently disgusted at the tyrannical proceedings of the government; so that it was no difficult matter to engage him in any measures that might contribute to the downfall of Scali. As the insolence and oppression of the principal commoners had made him their enemy, and a friend to the plebeians, so when he saw the latter pursuing the very same measures, he quickly detached himself from them. Having brought Benedetto and the heads of the arts into their design, they seized upon Scali, and the next day he was beheaded\*; which struck such a terror into his party, that not one of them offered to stir in his favour, though they crowded in great numbers to see his execution. When he came to suffer death, in the face of that very people who had so lately worshipped him with a degree of idolatry, he could not help complaining of the hardness of his destiny, and of the wickedness of those citizens who, by their oppressions, had forced him to care for a rabble, in which he found there was neither honour nor gratitude. He bewailed his folly in having trusted to the fidelity of plebeians, which he might well have known is ever liable to be shaken and seduced by any little suspicion, misrepresentation, or blast

\* Nerli, p. 28.

of envy. He told Benedetto, " This is the last day " of my misfortunes, and the first of yours." After him, some of his chief confidants were put to death, and their bodies dragged through the streets by the people.

His death threw the whole city into a ferment. As the city was full of different humours, every one had a separate view, and was eager to accomplish it before he laid down his arms. The ancient nobility, now called *grandeos*, could not bear to live any longer without some share in the public honours, and exerted their utmost efforts to recover them; for which purpose they endeavoured to have the captains of the arts restored to their former authority. The heads of the popular faction, and the greater arts, were disgusted that the government of the state was shared in common with them by the inferior arts or plebeians; the inferior arts, instead of giving up any part of their authority, were very desirous to increase it; and the plebeians were afraid of having their new companies dissolved. From these different views and apprehensions there was nothing to be seen in Florence but tumults for a whole year. Sometimes the *grandeos*, sometimes the greater, sometimes the lesser arts, and sometimes the plebeians, were in an uproar; and it often happened that they all took arms at the same time in different parts of the city.

After many mischiefs, dangers, and troubles, and many consultations and conferences, a new form of government was established\*. All were recalled who had been banished since Sylvestro de Medici was standard-bearer; all offices and appointments conferred in 1378 were abolished; the

1381.

\* Nerli, p. 28.

new companies dissolved, and re-incorporated in their respective arts; the inferior arts should not choose any standard-bearer of justice; that instead of enjoying one half of the public honours, they were now limited to one third, and those too of the lower rank: so that the popular nobility and the Guelphs re-assumed their superiority; and the plebians were utterly dispossessed of it, after they had held it from 1378 to 1381. The new administration was no less grievous and oppressive, however, than that of the plebeians had been; several of the popular nobility, and many of the heads of the plebeians, were banished, and among the rest Michael\*, whom the remembrance of his former great merit, in restraining the fury of the populace when so licentiously plundering the city, was not sufficient to protect from the resentment of the governing party. From such impolitic proceedings in princes and governors of commonwealths it happens that men, naturally growing disgusted with their ill-timed severity and ingratitude, often incur their displeasure before they are aware of it. As such executions and banishments had ever been disapproved of by Benedetto, he could not help blaming the authors of these; upon which the government began to grow jealous of him, as a favourer of the plebeian party, and one that had consented to the death of Scali, not out of any real disapprobation of his conduct, but that he might the more easily get the reins of government into his own hands. They kept a strict watch over him, and resolved to ruin him. Intrigues were soon laid, by which Benedetto was sent into banishment †.

“ You

\* Nerli, p. 29.

† Pervenire in que tempe al supremo magistrato Bardo Mancini, uomo molto contrario alla setta plebea, e molto nemico

“ You see, my dear friends,” says he, when he took leave of them, “ in what manner Fortune has contrived my ruin, and how she still threatens you: it is the lot of those who endeavour to maintain their integrity in wicked and corrupt times. From the same principle of love to my country which once induced me to join Sylvestro de Medici, and afterwards to separate myself from Scali, I could not forbear censuring the proceedings of those who are now at the helm, who, *having nobody to chastise them*, are likewise desirous to get rid of every one who dares to reprehend them.” He preserved his character for piety and humanity abroad, and there died. His bones were brought back to Florence, and interred there with the highest honours by those very people who had persecuted him while alive with so much rancour and injustice.

The family of the Alberti were not the only sufferers in these distractions, for many other citizens were either admonished or sent into exile. The members of this balia having done what they were deputed for, were going to break up, as they thought it would have an appearance of modesty; but the people hearing of their resolution, ran to arms in the palace, and insisted that they should banish and admonish several others before they resigned their authority.

mico per queste, e per altre cagioni di Messer Benedetto Alberti, e conosciuto Bardo la gelosia, che cittadini del governo avevano di quella casa degli Alberti, con partecipazione de' principali della setta de nobili, fece creare una balia per sicurtà dello stato, nella quale intra le prime cose si deliberò, che Messer Benedetto fusse confinato, e il resto degli Alberti tutti ammuniti; e furono costretti i signori per gelosia de capi cella setta, che molti altri cittadini tanto popolari, che plebei, fusse confinato, o ammuniti, e per ridurre piu il governo a parte nobile, e per piu avvilire gli avversari artifizii e popolo minuto, &c. Nerli, p. 29, 30.

The

The signori, to diminish the authority of the plebeians still more, made a decree, that the third part of the honours which they before enjoyed should be reduced to a fourth; and that there might be two at least in the signori, always of approved fidelity to the government, they gave the gonfalonier, and four other citizens, authority to make a fresh imbursement, and to put the names of a select number of citizens into a particular purse, out of which two of every new signori should always be drawn.

1387. Tranquillity now continued till 1387, when Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, commonly called the Conte di Virtu, thought to make himself king of Italy by arms, as he had made himself duke of Milan by treachery: but after making himself master of Bologna, Pisa, Perugia, and Siena, and preparing to be crowned king of Italy at Florence, he died \*. During the war with the duke, Maso degli Albizi was gonfalonier, a bitter enemy to the Alberti. He resolved, though Benedetto was now dead, to be revenged on the rest of that family, for Pietro's unfortunate end, before he went out of office. He accused the two heads of the family of corresponding with the exiles, and took them into custody: upon this the whole city was in an uproar. The signori called the people together, and appointed a new balia, by which many citizens, besides almost all the Alberti, were banished, and many artificers admonished, or put to death, and a fresh imbursement of magistrates was made. This tyrannical manner of proceeding so enraged the arts and lower sort of people, who now saw their lives and honours so wantonly taken away, that they rose in arms, some of them running to the

Maso Al-  
bizi.

Alberti.

\* Nerli, p. 30.

piazza, and others to the house of *Veri de Medici*, who, after the death of *Sylvester*, was become the head of that family, and earnestly intreated him to take the government into his hands, and deliver them from the oppression of those citizens, who were daily endeavouring to destroy the commonwealth, and every good man in it. *Antonio de Medici* was most importunate with him, though they had been long at open enmity. All writers agree, that if *Veri* had been as ambitious as he was virtuous, he might have made himself lord of the city; but he put himself at the head of the people, marched to the piazza, and there publicly refused to do any thing unconstitutional, but prayed the signori to redress the grievances of the people. They highly commended him, and promised to give all satisfaction. Upon these assurances, and a reliance on *Veri's* word, the people returned to their houses. As soon as the tumult was composed, the signori, instead of fulfilling their promises, fortified the piazza, enrolled two thousand citizens to defend them, forbid all others to bear arms, put many citizens to death, and banished others, who had been most active in the late insurrection. The few *Alberti* who were left, and the *Medici*, thought themselves and the people deceived, and were extremely disgusted by these proceedings; but the first who had courage to oppose them was *Donato Acciaivola*, one of the grandees, rather superior to *Maso Albizi*, who, by the steps he had taken while he was gonfalonier was become in a manner the head of the commonwealth. *Donato* endeavoured that those who had been sent into exile might be recalled, and those who had been admonished should be re-qualified to hold their former honours and employments. He first attempted it by persuasion, but not succeeding,

*Acciaivola*



ing, he threatened to do it by force. For this he was cited, convicted, and banished to Barletta. Alamanno, and Antonio de Medici, and all those who were of Alamanno's family, with many of the inferior arts, who had any interest among the plebeians, were likewise banished. All these things happened within two years after Maso degli Albizi had assumed the government.

1397.

In 1397 the exiles at Bologna, spirited young men, among whom was Antonio de Medici, determined at all events to return to their country, and assassinate Maso, depending upon the people's rising in their favour : but either from a terror of the government, or prejudice against the exiles, the people would not move ; and the conspirators fled to the church, where they were put to death \*. This conspiracy was scarcely quashed, when another more dangerous was discovered, of other exiles scattered over Lombardy, in concert with the duke of Milan ; but this was discovered, defeated, and the authors punished. Then a new *balia* was instituted, with authority to provide for the safety of the commonwealth. By this council, six of the Ricci, six of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, and many others of lower condition, were proclaimed rebels ; all the rest of the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, except some very few, were rendered incapable of holding any office for ten years. One of the Alberti only was spared on account of his quiet character, Antonio ; but the government was jealous of him, and soon found a pretence for banishing him to a distance of three hundred miles from the city : and to free the government from the continual apprehensions they lived under

\* Nerli, p. 32.

of the Alberti, they banished all of that family that were above fifteen years of age. These things happened in 1400\*.

1400.

In 1412 some of the Alberti returned from banishment, and another balia was appointed, which made new laws for the security of the state, and inflicted other penalties on that family.

1412.

In 1414 ended the war with Ladislaus, king of Naples, whose death delivered Florence from as much danger as that of the Conte di Virtu had done.

1414.

The period from 1371 to 1434, is that which is boasted by Machiavel as the prosperous one, but whose prosperity he attributes to the virtues and abilities of Nasso. Pisa, Arezzo, Leghorn, and Monte Pulchiano, were added to the dominion.

“ All republics, especially such as are not well constituted, undergo frequent changes in their laws and manner of government; and this is not owing to the nature either of liberty or subjection in general, as many think, but to downright oppression on one hand, or unbridled licentiousness on the other.” It is very true, that most republics have undergone frequent changes in their laws; but this has been merely because that very few republics have been well constituted. It is very true also, that there is nothing in the nature of liberty, or of obedience, which tends to produce such changes; on the contrary, real liberty and true obedience rather tend to preserve constancy in government. It is, indeed, oppression and licence that occasion changes; but where the constitution is good, the laws govern, and prevent oppression as well as licence.

• Nerli, p. 33.

“ The name of liberty is often nothing more than  
“ a specious pretence, made use of both by the  
“ instruments of licentiousness, who for the most  
“ part are commoners, and by the promoters of  
“ slavery, who generally are the nobles, each side  
“ being equally impatient of restraint and con-  
“ troul.” This is a truth, which is proved, as  
well as illustrated, by every page of the foregoing  
history, as well as by the history of almost all  
other republics, ancient and modern : and the next  
paragraph shews that Machiavel had an accurate  
idea of the evil, though a confused one of the re-  
medy. “ When it fortunately happens, which  
“ indeed is very seldom, that some wise, good,  
“ and powerful citizen, has sufficient authority in  
“ the commonwealth to make such laws as may  
“ extinguish all jealousies betwixt the nobility  
“ and the people, or at least so to moderate and  
“ restrain them, that they shall not be able to pro-  
“ duce any bad effect, in such case that state may  
“ properly be called free, and its constitution looked  
“ upon as firm and permanent ; for being once  
“ established upon good laws and institutions, it  
“ has no further occasion, like other states, for the  
“ virtue of any particular man to support it.” One  
would be apt to conjecture from this, that Ma-  
chiavel was about to propose a first magistrate,  
armed by the constitution with sufficient authority  
to mediate, at all times, between the nobles and  
commons. Such a magistrate, possessed of the  
whole executive power, with a negative to defend  
it, has always authority to intervene between the  
nobles and commons, and to preserve the energy  
of the laws to restrain both : and whether this exe-  
cutive magistrate is wise and good or not, if the  
commons have the negative upon the purse and the  
laws, and the inquest of grievances, abuses, and  
state

state crimes, that executive power can hardly be ill used. "On such laws and principles many of those ancient commonwealths, which so long subsisted, were formerly constituted." Rome and Sparta were, in some degree, constituted upon these principles, and in proportion as they conformed to them, they were free and happy; but neither was perfectly conformed to them. "For want of them, others have often varied their form of government from tyranny to licence, and from licence to tyranny:" and for want of them, such will ever be the vibration. "For as each of those states always has powerful enemies to contend with, it neither is nor can be possible they should be of any long duration:" and while they last, the liberty and happiness of the citizens are constantly sacrificed. "All good and wise men must of necessity be disgusted at them." So much so, that if it were not for the chance and hope of obtaining a better constitution, after all the changes, any man of that character would prefer a simple monarchy at once. "Since much evil may very easily be done in the former, and hardly any good in the latter; the insolent having too much authority in one, and the ignorant and unexperienced in the other." These characters of simple aristocracies and simple democracies, which succeed each other so rapidly, where the third power is not introduced to controul and moderate both the nobles and people, are very just; and Machiavel says, what is near the truth, "both must be upheld by the spirit and fortune of one man alone, who yet may either be suddenly taken off by death, or overpowered by adversity." It is a pity he had not said, parties must be upheld together by the constitutional, legal authority of one man alone, possessed of the whole executive

cutive power of the state, and then if he is taken off by death another will succeed; if he be overpowered by adversity the whole state must be overpowered with him, and no form of government can be devised to warrant states against pestilence, earthquake, and famine, the inevitable and irresistible judgments of heaven. "I say, therefore, that the model of government, which took place in Florence after the death of Scali in 1381, was at first solely maintained by the conduct of Maso degli Albizi, and afterwards by that of Niccolo Uzzano." This is a strong instance of the efficiency of one man, so situated as to be able to mediate between the aristocratical and democratical ingredients in society, and for providing such an officer by the constitution, whose duty and business it shall always be to act the same part; nay, who shall be necessitated, from the principle of self-preservation and self-defence, to preserve the balance between them.

1414. The city continued in tranquillity from 1414 to  
 1422. 1422; eight years: Uzzano and six others had the chief authority. Those animosities, however, which were at first kindled in the city by the quarrel betwixt the Albizi and the Ricci, and afterwards blown up to such height by Sylvestro de Medici, were not yet extinguished; and although that party which had the largest share in the affections of the people continued only three years in the administration, and was turned out of it in 1381, yet as they were favoured and supported by the greater part of the citizens, they could not be totally suppressed. The frequent *admonitions* and continual persecutions that were carried on against the heads of it, from 1381 to 1400, had indeed brought them very low. The Alberti and the *Medici* suffered most by these proceedings. Several  
 of

of them had their estates confiscated ; others were banished or put to death ; and those who were suffered to continue in the city were deprived of all their honours and employments : by which their party was much depressed, and almost reduced to nothing. They retained, however, sharp resentments, and determined to take revenge, though under the present circumstances they thought proper to dissemble.

This administration, composed of the most considerable commoners or popular nobility, which had kept the city so long in peace, at last were guilty of two errors in point of conduct, which proved their ruin. As soon as they thought themselves safe from the attempts of the Alberti, they grew insolent, and they quarrelled among themselves : two faults, that have ever been committed by every single assembly, whether of nobles or commons ; and which ever must be committed by all that are to come. Amidst their supineness, oppressions, and divisions, the *Medici* recovered their former authority and power. The first of this family that began to lift up his head again was *Giovanni* \*, the son of *Bicci de Medici*, who being a man of great humanity, and grown very rich, was admitted to a share in the government of the state ; at which there was such extraordinary rejoicings among the people, that many of the graver sort of the citizens were not a little alarmed when they saw the old humours began to show themselves again. Uzzano represented to his colleagues †, that he knew Giovanni was a person of much greater influence and abilities than ever Sylvestro had been, and that it was dangerous to promote a man of so general a reputation to such

\* Nerli, p. 34.

† Nerli, p. 34, 35.



a degree of power: but the rest of the governors envied Uzzano's reputation, and were glad to avail themselves of any assistance to ruin him; so that Giovanni was set up, as it often happens, to pull down Uzzano.—When a popular assembly or a senate have the management of the executive power, disputes for ever arise concerning every step in foreign affairs, and discords and factions have full play. Thus it happened in Florence upon occasion of a negotiation with Phillip Visconti, lord of Lombardy; every faction had a different opinion: that, however, in favour of a war prevailed; ten superintendants of the war were appointed, soldiers were raised, and taxes imposed; these occasioned great murmurs in the city. The taxes were said to be heavier on the poor than the rich; every one exclaimed against the oppression of their governors, who had wantonly embroiled them in an expensive and unnecessary war, only to gratify their own private interests and ambition, and to establish themselves in their tyranny. The majority of the governors at last judged it necessary to declare war, notwithstanding that resolution still met with great opposition, especially from Giovanni de Medici, who publicly protested against it, which occasioned a multitude of arguments pro and con. The war was unfortunate, and a battle lost by the badness of the weather; this misfortune occasioned great consternation in Florence, especially among the governing party, who had been the chief promoters of the war: they saw the enemy powerful and elated, themselves disarmed and without allies, and, what was worse, hated to the last degree by the people, who insulted them whenever they appeared in the streets, complaining of insupportable taxes, and upbraiding  
ing

ing them with the heavy expences of an unnecessary war.

Machiavel, p. 238, enumerates the taunts which fury suggested upon this occasion to an enraged and unbridled multitude. The signori called a meeting of the principal citizens, and earnestly exhorted them to use their good offices to soothe the people, and appease the general indignation which their clamours had excited. Rinaldo, the eldest son of the late Maso degli Albici, having secretly entertained some hopes of becoming sole governor of the republic, by the merit of his own services and the reputation of his father, made a long speech in justification of the war. A commission was given to twenty citizens to raise farther supplies for the maintenance of the war, who seeing the governing party now humbled, took courage, and laid the chief burden of the taxes upon their shoulders; at which they were not a little mortified in their turn. They complained of it as too heavy; but when this came to the ears of the council, they took effectual care to have it collected; and, in order to make all impositions appear the more grievous and hateful to the people for the future, they gave a strict charge to their officers to collect this with the utmost rigour, and to kill any one that should dare to oppose them, or refuse to pay it: and so many were murdered or wounded, that it was apprehended the two parties would come to blows; for those who had been so long in power, and used to be treated with such reverence and distinction, could not bear the thoughts of being insulted in this manner; and the other side were resolved, that every man, in his turn, should equally feel the sting of these oppressions. The principal citizens had now many private conferences, but Giovanni was not there; either be-

cause he was not invited, as a person in whom they could not thoroughly confide, or refused to come because he did not approve of such cabals. Rinaldo degli Albici made an harangue.—He represented how the government had again fallen into the hands of the people, from whom their fathers had recovered it in 1381. He reminded them of the tyranny of those who were in the administration from 1377 till that time; in which interval either the father or grandfather, or some near relation of almost every one who was then present, had been unjustly put to death. That the city was now going to relapse into the same state of confusion and oppression, as the multitude had already taken upon them to impose taxes; and if they were not either curbed by force, or restrained by some other expedient, would certainly, in the next place, proceed to appoint such officers as they thought fit; after which they would turn the present magistrates out of their seats, to the utter destruction of an administration, which had governed the city, with so much glory and reputation, for forty-two years: the consequence of which would be, that Florence must either be blindly governed by the caprice of the multitude, and then one party would live in continual danger and apprehension, while the other rioted in all manner of licentiousness, or it must fall under the subjection of some one person, who would make himself absolute lord, and perhaps tyrant, over it. As the audaciousness of the multitude was in a great measure owing to the largeness of the imbursements, and the little care that was taken in them, which had filled the palace with new and mean men, he thought the only remedy for such disorders would be to restore the authority of the nobility, and diminish that of the minor arts, by

reducing them from fourteen to seven, which would lessen the power of the plebeians in the councils, both by retrenching their number, and by throwing more weight into the scale of the grandees, who would be sure to use all possible endeavours to depress them, out of revenge for old injuries. That wise men always availed themselves of different sorts of people at different seasons; and if their fathers had made use of the assistance of the plebeians to humble the insolence of the grandees, now the latter were brought so low, and the former become so audacious, it would be no bad expedient to join with one to lower the other.—Uzzano made answer, that it might be done, if they could draw Giovanni de Medici into their designs; for if he concurred with them, the multitude being deprived of their head, would not be able to make any opposition.—Rinaldo was deputed to wait upon Giovanni, and persuade him to join them. Giovanni replied to him, that he had always thought it the duty of a good citizen to endeavour to prevent any change in the established laws. By such changes some were turned out and others brought in, and the first generally thought themselves more aggrieved than the others benefited; by which few friends and many enemies were made, mankind being naturally more prone to revenge than gratitude. That the citizens of Florence generally dealt basely and perfidiously with each other: that as soon as the promoters and advisers of this plan had sufficiently depressed the people by the help of his authority, they would certainly fall upon him next with the whole force and assistance of the plebeians, whose affections he must have lost by such a conduct, and then he would be utterly deserted and ruined. He could not help remembering the fate of Benedetto, who, at the  
instigation

instigation of such as conspired his destruction, consented to the severe proceedings against Scali, and soon after was sent into exile himself by the very persons who had inveigled him into those measures. That for his part he should never agree to have any alterations made in the laws or constitution of his country.—These deliberations, when known, still added to the reputation of Giovanni, and increased the hatred of the people against the other citizens. On the contrary, Alamanno de Medici, his relation, and Cosimo, his son, urged Giovanni to take this opportunity of humbling his enemies and exalting his friends, reproaching him with his coldness, which they said emboldened those who wished him ill to form daily conspiracies against him, and would, one time or other, prove the ruin of all his family and dependents: but he was deaf to all their remonstrances and prognostications, and determined to pursue his own measures. The designs of the faction were, however, now plainly discovered, and the city began once more to divide itself into factions. Under such forms of government there can never be an independent judicial power: all parties are either courting, or threatening, or persecuting the judges. There were at this time two presiding under the signori, in the supreme court of justice: Martino, who was one of them, was of Uzzano's party, and Paolo, the other, followed that of the Medici. Rinaldo finding Giovanni inflexible, resolved to turn Paolo out of his office, as he thought that the court would then be wholly at his devotion; but the other side being aware of this, were beforehand with him, and contrived matters so well, that they got Paolo continued and Martino discharged, to the great mortification and prejudice of his party.

The

The war lasted five years, i. e. from 1422 to 1427, and the citizens were impoverished by taxes; and personal estate was now to be taxed as well as real. This was likely to fall heavy upon the rich, upon which account it was opposed vehemently by them all, before it passed into a law, except Giovanni, who publicly expressed his approbation of it; so that it was carried against them. This tax was regulated by a law made on purpose, and not left to the arbitrament of partial or interested persons; so that the more powerful citizens were in some measure restrained from oppressing the inferior sort, and influencing their votes in the councils, as they had been used to do, by the threats of taxing them according as they gave their suffrages. This tax, therefore, was very cheerfully submitted to by the generality, though highly disgustful to the government. But as it is the nature of mankind to be ever restless and discontented, and when they have gained one advantage, to be still grasping at a higher, the people, not satisfied with this equality of taxation established by the law, demanded a retrospect, by which it might appear how much less the rich citizens had paid before, than they ought to have done by this regulation, and every one be made to account for deficiencies. This question occasioned very long and ingenious arguments on both sides; but Giovanni represented to the people the bad consequences of retrospects, and with many arguments soothed the people, till they dropped this demand.

In 1428 peace was concluded, and fresh commotions began in the city, on the subject of the new plan of taxation. In this juncture Giovanni fell sick; and calling his two sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo, to his bed-side, he advised them, "If  
" you would live with safety and comfort, be  
" content

1428.



“ content with such a share in the government as  
 “ your fellow-citizens confer upon you, by which  
 “ you will avoid envy and danger ; for it is that  
 “ which a man arrogates to himself that makes  
 “ him odious, and not what is voluntarily given  
 “ him.” He died lamented by the whole city,  
 for he was very charitable and compassionate. His  
 universal benevolence taught him to love good  
 men, and pity the evil. He never solicited honours,  
 though he obtained the highest. He died possessed  
 of immense riches \*, and full of glory and reputa-  
 tion, leaving his son Cosimo heir to his fortune  
 and fame ; both which he not only maintained,  
 but augmented.

Ambition soon kindled new wars. The whole  
 city was divided into little meetings and cabals of  
 all ranks of people, the generality of whom were  
 for commencing hostilities against the Lucchese.  
 Among the more considerable citizens who favoured  
 this enterprise, were all the followers of the Medici  
 family : those who opposed it were Uzzano and  
 his party. It seems almost incredible that there  
 should be such a change of opinions in the same  
 citizens, on this occasion, concerning the expedi-  
 ence of a war ; and yet those very persons who,  
 after a peace that had lasted ten years, opposed a  
 war against duke Phillip, which was undertaken in  
 defence of their own liberties, now strenuously  
 insisted upon one against Lucca, to invade the  
 rights of others, and at a time too when the city  
 was exhausted and impoverished to the last degree  
 by the heavy expences of the last. From hence  
 we may observe, how much more ready mankind  
 are to usurp the property of others, than to de-  
 fend their own ; and how much stronger the hope

\* Nerli, p. 38.

of gain is, than the fear of losing. The signori assembled the common-council, where the matter was debated by some of the leading men of the republic, in the presence of four hundred and ninety-eight citizens. The debate was conducted by Rinaldo on one side, and Uzzano on the other; and, upon a ballot, only ninety-eight were against the war.—The war was commenced, and carried on with all that rapacious avarice and ambition which had begun it, and grievous complaints and accusations were brought against Astorre and Rinaldo for their behaviour in it.

In 1428\* Niccolo de Uzzano died, and Rinaldo succeeded as head of his family and party. Rinaldo returned in a rage against the magistrates, and presenting himself before the council of war, he told them, “he well knew how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to serve an unbridled people, and a divided state; since the one was carried away with every rumour, the other put a malicious interpretation upon actions that were doubtful, and always punished the evil, but never rewarded the good: so that if a commander succeeded in an expedition, he had no praise at all; if he was guilty of an error, his conduct was censured by the generality; but if he miscarried, he was sure to be condemned by every one; for in one case his own party would envy his success, and his adversaries not fail to insult him in the other.” The council endeavoured to appease his resentment, but gave the command abroad to others. The war was conducted afterwards rather unsuccessfully, until they came to a battle before the town of Lucca, and were totally defeated. As the expedition had been undertaken almost by general consent, the people, in the utmost consternation, and not knowing where else

\* Nerli, p. 39.

to turn their rage, began to abuse those who had conducted the war, since they could not blame those who, by their own instigation, had first advised it, and revived their old calumnies against Rinaldo : but the person whom they fell upon with the greatest violence was Guicchiardini, who, they said, might easily have put an end to the war, if he had not been bribed ; nay, they went so far as to charge him with sending a horse-load of money to his own house, and particularly mentioned the names both of those that carried and those that received it. These clamours and accusations made such a noise, that the captain of the people could not help taking cognizance of so public a charge ; especially as he was importunately called upon so to do by Giovanni's enemies. Having cited him therefore to clear himself of this imputation, he made his appearance, but with much seeming indignation and contempt of their malice ; and his relations exerted themselves so strenuously for the honour of their family, that the captain was obliged to stop all further proceedings against him. The insinuation here is very obvious, that the judge was bribed.

1433. In 1433 a general peace was concluded, and all towns that had been taken by the Florentines, Lucchese, and Siense, should be mutually restored to their former possessors ; so that the expence of this war was all lost.

During the course of this war abroad, the factious humours began to ferment again at home ; and Cosimo began to act with greater spirit in public affairs, and with more openness and zeal for the good of his friends, than ever his father had done : so that those who rejoiced at the death of Giovanni, were not a little damped at the proceedings of his son. Cosimo was a man of very great prudence, of a sedate and agreeable countenance,

nance, exceedingly liberal and humane; never entering into any measures that would be pernicious to the state, or even the party that he opposed, but taking all opportunities of doing good to every one, and of conciliating to himself the affections of his fellow-citizens by his goodness and generosity. So noble an example of benevolence greatly increased the hatred which the public had already conceived against the governing party, and at the same time was the best method he thought he could take to enable himself either to live with reputation and security in Florence, or to get the better of any persecution that the malice of his enemies might raise against him by the interest he had with the people, and even, if necessary, by force of arms. There were two citizens who contributed to promote this interest, Averardo de Medici, and Puccio de Pucci; the one by his boldness and activity, the other by his great wisdom and experience, which added much reputation to his party: indeed, the judgment and authority of the latter were so generally revered, that he gave name to the party, which was not called Cosimo's, but Puccio's party. In this divided state of the city, the expedition against Lucca was undertaken, which, instead of extinguishing the rage of faction, still added fuel to it; for though Puccio's party had promoted and advised a war, yet those of the other side were chiefly employed in conducting it, as they had greater power in the government: and since Averardo and his friends could not by any means prevent this, they took every opportunity of defaming them, and calumniating their actions; so that when they met with any misfortune, it was not imputed to the superior strength or better management of the enemy, but to the misconduct and imprudence of the commissary.

commissary. This was the occasion that the enormities committed by Astorfa Gianni, though very great indeed of themselves, were still exaggerated. It was this sort of treatment that provoked Rinaldo to such a degree, that he left his command without permission. This was the true cause of Giovanni Guicchicardini being cited to appear before the captain of the people. From hence proceeded all the charges and complaints that were exhibited against other magistrates and commissaries; and whilst those that had any foundation were always aggravated, and sometimes supported by downright falsehood, the people greedily swallowed all, whether true or false, out of the hatred they bore to them: and though Uzzano, and the other heads of that party, were sufficiently aware of these base artifices, and had several private meetings to consider of proper means to prevent the effect of them, yet they could not fix upon any expedient. It was very dangerous, they knew, to connive at them, and not less to proceed to open violence: Uzzano himself was averse to any remedies of that kind. Barbadori, seeing they were harassed in this manner, with war abroad and faction at home, made a visit to Uzzano, whom he found alone, and very thoughtful in his study; and as he himself wished to see the ruin of Cosimo, he left no method untried to prevail upon Uzzano to join with Rinaldo to drive him out of the city. Uzzano replied, "Common  
"prudence would be sufficient to induce those  
"who advise the expulsion of Cosimo to compare  
"their own strength with his. Our party, it  
"seems, is now distinguished by the name of the  
"Nobility, and the other by that of the Ple-  
"beians. Remember the fate of the ancient no-  
"bility of this city, who at last were utterly sup-  
"pressed

" pressed in their contests with the plebeians.  
 " Our party is divided, while that of our adver-  
 " saries is compact and entire. *Neri and Nerone,*  
 " *two of the chief men in the city, have not yet de-*  
 " *clared themselves*; and it is uncertain what side  
 " they will take. Several families are divided  
 " among themselves; and many there are that  
 " hate us, and favour our adversaries, merely out  
 " of envy or malice to their own brothers, or  
 " some other near relations. Among the sons of  
 " Maso, Luca, out of hatred to Rinaldo, is gone  
 " over to the other side; in the family of the  
 " Guicciardini, Pietro, the son of Luigi, is a  
 " mortal enemy to his brother Giovanni, and  
 " joins our adversaries; Tomaso and Niccolo  
 " Soderini openly oppose us out of pique to their  
 " uncle Francisco: so that if we consider the quality  
 " of those who constitute their party, and of whom  
 " our own consists, I see no reason why one should  
 " be called the nobility in preference to the other.  
 " If it is because they are followed by the whole  
 " body of the plebeians, that very circumstance  
 " makes them so much superior to us, that if ever  
 " we come to an open trial of our strength, we  
 " shall not be able to stand before them; and if  
 " we still continue in possession of the first places  
 " in the commonwealth, it is entirely owing to  
 " the established credit of an administration which  
 " has now supported itself for the space of fifty  
 " years. But if things should come to extremi-  
 " ties, and our present weakness be discovered,  
 " you may depend upon it, we should be forced  
 " out of the magistracy, perhaps to our utter de-  
 " struction. Cosimo, it is true, freely lends mo-  
 " ney to every one that wants it; not only to  
 " private people, but to the public, upon any  
 " emergency, and to foreigners as well as Flo-  
 "



“ rentines : he is a friend to such as stand in need  
 “ of protection, and sometimes helps to advance  
 “ an acquaintance to a reputable employment in  
 “ the commonwealth, by the interest which his  
 “ universal benevolence has gained him among  
 “ the people. What shall we be able to plead in  
 “ excuse for endeavouring to expel him the city ?  
 “ Shall we accuse him of being charitable, friend-  
 “ ly, liberal, and beloved by every one ? What  
 “ law condemns charity, liberality, and benefi-  
 “ cence ? Indeed, these virtues are sometimes  
 “ counterfeited, to cajole the vulgar, by such as  
 “ aspire to dominion ; but they do not appear in  
 “ that light at present, nor is it in our power to  
 “ make them. We have lost our reputation by  
 “ our late misconduct ; and a people naturally  
 “ prone to faction, and corrupted by continual  
 “ divisions, will no longer put any confidence in  
 “ us, or give credit to such accusations. If he is  
 “ banished, he will return with more friends, and  
 “ we shall have more enemies : if it is intended to  
 “ put him to death in a *judicial manner*, that can  
 “ never be effected ; for, as he is rich, and the  
 “ magistracy corrupt, he will be sure to escape  
 “ all punishment. But if he is banished, or  
 “ condemned, what will the commonwealth  
 “ gain by that ? No sooner will it be free from  
 “ the apprehensions it was under from Cosimo,  
 “ but it will be liable to the same from Rinaldo.  
 “ For my own part, I am one of those who never  
 “ desire to see one citizen exceed another in au-  
 “ thority ; and if one of these two must seize the  
 “ reins, I know not any reason that should induce  
 “ me to prefer Rinaldo to Cosimo. I pray God  
 “ to preserve this city from ever falling under the  
 “ dominion of any one man : but if a time should  
 “ ever come, when our sins shall bring that judgment  
 “ upon

“ upon us, I pray still more earnestly, that we may  
 “ not become subject to Rinaldo. *The far greater*  
 “ *part of the citizens, some out of stupidity, and*  
 “ *others out of malice, are thoroughly disposed to*  
 “ *sell their country ; and fortune has been so favour-*  
 “ *able to them as to provide a purchaser.* Live  
 “ quietly, then ; and as to any invasion of our  
 “ liberties, be assured, you have as much to ap-  
 “ prehend from our own party as the other.”—

This speech contains a volume of instructions : the situation of such a government, where there are two parties, and no third power to balance them, is admirably described. Neri, or Neroni, who were yet neuters, are looked up to as capable, when they please, of overturning the balance, and effecting a révolution. Family quarrels are resorted to and inflamed, in order to make different branches take different sides. Though one party is called patrician and the other plebeian, so many individuals of each desert their colours, and go over to the enemy, that it is impossible to say which party is really the patrician and which plebeian. Timid and irresolute to the last degree, the government dares not disoblige an individual, even by punishing a crime. The government really esteeming its enemies, more than its own members ; and opposition approving members of government more than their own associates. All parties endeavouring to get an influence over the judges, as essential to their existence. The judicial power unavoidably corrupted. It was easy for Uzzano to say, and perhaps sincerely, that he never desired to see one citizen exceed another in influence. But, according to Machiavel, the existence of the government had long depended upon the superior authority of Uzzano himself. And no better plan of liberty than this deplorable

1428.

one of Florence can ever be preserved, without some one citizen legally vested with authority to controul each in his turn of the contending parties. Uzzano died in 1428 \*, and all restraint was at an end. Rinaldo now was head of the party, and was continually teasing and importuning such citizens as he thought likely to be judges, that is, standard-bearers of justice, to take arms, and deliver their country out of the hands of Cosimo; who, taking advantage of the stupidity of some, and the malice of others, would certainly enslave it. Thus Rinaldo, by endeavouring to supplant his adversaries, and they to support themselves, kept the whole city in continual alarm and suspicion; so that when new magistrates were appointed, it was presently known how many there were on one side, and how many on the other: and at the imborfations for the signori, there was nothing to be seen but tumult and uproar. Every trifling affair that was brought before the magistracy created a division among them; all secrets were divulged; they had no regard to justice; the good and the evil were treated alike; and there was not so much as one magistrate that did his duty. Rinaldo, impatient to lower the authority of Cosimo, intrigued to get Bernardo drawn for standard-bearer \*, and succeeded; went to congratulate him, and told him how much the nobility were rejoiced to see him in possession of that dignity; represented to him the danger they were in from their divisions; and that the surest way to restore union among them was to rid themselves of Cosimo. Bernardo answered, he was fully convinced of the expediency and necessity of what he had urged, and desired him to prepare their

\* Nerli, p. 39.

friends to take arms. Bernardo then summoned Cosimo to appear before the signori. The signori assembled the people, and appointed a balia, consisting of two hundred citizens, to reform the state; and the first thing debated was, whether Cosimo should be put to death or not? Some argued for it, others thought banishment sufficient, and many sat silent. Cosimo was committed prisoner to Frederigo, in the turret of the palace. From this place he could hear the clamours of the armed men, who were below in the piazza, and frequent outcries for a balia; which made him apprehend that his life was in danger, but much more, that his particular enemies would take some extravagant method to dispatch him: for that reason, he would eat no meat for the space of four days, except a mouthful or two of bread. Frederigo observing this, bid him take courage, and eat his meat, and keep himself alive for the good of his friends and his country; and that you may have no more suspicion, says he, I will eat with you. Cosimo embraced him with tears in his eyes, acknowledging his generosity, and assuring him he would amply recompence his kindness, if ever fortune should put it in his power to shew his gratitude. Frederigo invited Farganaccio, a friend of the standard-bearer, to sup with them. Cosimo, after many fair words and promises, gave his guest a draught upon his banker for eleven hundred ducats, desiring him to keep one hundred himself, and present the other thousand to the standard-bearer. This he willingly undertook to perform, and gave the money to Bernardo, who then began to grow cooler and more moderate in the prosecution; so that, after all, Cosimo was only banished to Padua, though Rinaldo used his utmost endeavours to have him

1433.

put to death. Averardo de Medici, and many others of that family, were likewise banished at the same time, and with them Puccio and Giovanni de Puci. Cosimo was brought before the signori, 3d of October, 1433, who pronounced the sentence of banishment upon him. He received the sentence with a chearful countenance, saying, "that in what part of the world soever he should sojourn, his person and fortune should ever be at the service of the republic, the people, and the signori." The standard-bearer told him, he would take care that his life should be in no danger; and, having conducted him to his own house, to sup with him, ordered a party of the guards to escort him to the confines of the Florentine dominions. Wherever he came, he was received with great honour, and publicly visited by the Venetians, who treated him not as an exile, but as a person of the first rank and consequence in the state. Florence being thus deprived of so great a man, and so universally beloved \*, Rinaldo saw a storm arising, and advised his friends to collect their strength, and fortify themselves; that so, when their enemies should rise upon them, which was daily to be expected, they might be able to clear the city of them by dint of force, since, it seemed, they could not do it in a judiciary manner: that they must regain the affections of the grandees, by restoring them to their honours and authority. He was answered, that the insolence and tyranny of the grandees always had been, and always would be insupportable; and that it would be madness

\* Partissi Cosimo di Firenze l'Ottobre 1433, avendo lasciato di se nell' universale de' men potenti cittadini grandissimo desiderio, parendo loro esser rimessi in preda di pochi potenti, senza speranza di capo alcuno al quale si potessero appoggiare. Nerli, p. 40.

to run headlong into a *certain* and slavish subjection to them, when the danger that was apprehended from the plebeians might only be imaginary. Rinaldo, seeing his advice rejected, could not help lamenting the misfortunes that he foresaw were going to fall upon himself and his party; but modestly imputed them rather to the malevolence of their destiny, than to the blindness and perverseness of men. But both Rinaldo and Machiavel would have been much better advised, if they had imputed all these evils to their true cause, an imperfect and unbalanced constitution of government, rather than to destiny or the perverseness of men. In such a form of government, destiny itself, without a miracle, cannot prevent the blindness and perverseness of men. Those who see the clearest are forced to shut their eyes, and those who are most upright are compelled to be perverse. Letters were soon intercepted from Agnolo to Cosimo, advising him to stir up a war from some quarter or another, and to make Neri his friend; as he thought then the people would be in want of money to carry it on. Agnolo was banished, which in some measure restrained the ardour of those who favoured Cosimo. It was now almost a year since Cosimo was banished.

At the end of August, 1434, Niccoli di Cocco was drawn standard-bearer for the two next months, and with him eight new signors, all friends to Cosimo; at which Rinaldo and his party were alarmed. Rinaldo was for taking arms, and obliging the standard-bearer to assemble the people in the piazza to appoint another balia, and depose the new signori; get others drawn, more fit for their purpose, by burning the old imbursement, and making a fresh one, in which the purses might be filled only with the names of their friends. Strozzi,

1434.



a man of a peaceable and humane disposition, and rather given to study than faction, opposed it; and it was resolved to let the new signori enter peaceably upon the magistracy. The new signori having been created by Cosimo's party, no sooner took possession of the palace, than the standard-bearer began his office by an action which should give him reputation, and strike a damp into such as might think of opposing him. He immediately committed his predecessor to prison, upon pretence that he had embezzled the public money; after which he began to sound his associates about Cosimo's return, and, finding them well disposed to it, he communicated their design to those who were reputed heads of the Medici party, who all encouraged him to attempt it. He then cited Rinaldo, and others the principals of the other party, to appear before him: but they, instead of obeying him, flew to arms. But their party was irresolute, lost their opportunity, and gave time to the signori to provide for their defence. They sent to acquaint Rinaldo, and those who were with him, "that they could not conceive what was the cause of such a commotion; that if it was upon Cosimo's account, they could assure them they had no thought of recalling him." These promises, however, made but little impression on Rinaldo, who said he would take care of himself, by turning them all out of their offices. *But it seldom happens that any design succeeds, where the authority of the conductors is equal, and their opinions different.* Rodolpho replied, "that for his part, he desired nothing more than that Cosimo might not be suffered to return: so that all hope of success being defeated by the delay of Rinaldo, the pusillanimity of Strozzi, and the desertion of Peruzzi,

Peruzzi, the rest of the party began to lose their spirits, and grow cool. Pope Eugenius IV. was then at Florence, driven out of Rome by the people, and interposed his mediation till he persuaded the party to lay down their arms. As soon as the signori saw their adversaries disarmed, they began to treat with them, through the mediation of the pope; and, at the same time, sent privately into the mountains of Pistoia for a body of foot-soldiers, which, being joined by all the horse they had in the adjacent territories, were brought into Florence by night; and having taken possession of all the passes and strong places in the city, they called the people together in the piazza before the palace, and appointed a new balia; which, at their first meeting, recalled Cosimo, and all the other citizens who had been banished with him. On the other hand, they not only sent Rinaldo, Peruzzi, Barbadori, and Strozzi, into banishment, but such numbers of others, that most parts of Italy, and some other countries, were crowded with them, to the great impoverishment of Florence, both in regard to its wealth, its inhabitants, its trade, and manufactures. But the pope, seeing that party entirely ruined and dissipated, which had consented to lay down their arms upon his assurances and intercession, was exceedingly enraged, as well as Rinaldo. The latter however affected to say, it would give him no great regret to be banished a city where private men had more authority than the laws. Cosimo having notice, immediately repaired to Florence; it has seldom happened that any commander, though returning in triumph from victory, was received with such acclamations and universal joy as Cosimo was by his fellow-citizens, who ran in multitudes to meet him,  
and

and saluted him with one voice, the benefactor of the people, and the father of his country \*!

Machiavel begins his fifth book, as if he supposed his reader convinced that the commonwealth of Florence had expired, and an absolute sovereignty in Cosimo had commenced, by grave reflections upon the changes that are incident to all governments:—" They often degenerate into anarchy  
 " and confusion, and from thence emerge again  
 " to good order and regularity. For, since it is  
 " ordained by Providence that there should be  
 " a continual ebb and flow in the things of this  
 " world, as soon as they arrive at their utmost  
 " perfection, and can ascend no higher, they must  
 " of necessity decline: and, on the other hand,  
 " when they have fallen, through any disorder,  
 " to the lowest degree that is possible, and can  
 " sink no lower, they begin to rise again. And  
 " thus there is a constant succession of prosperity  
 " and adversity in all human affairs. Virtue is  
 " the mother of peace; peace produces idleness;  
 " idleness, contention and misrule; and from  
 " thence proceed ruin and confusion. This oc-  
 " casions reformation and better laws; good laws  
 " make men virtuous; and public virtue is always  
 " attended with glory and success."

\* Ritorno adunque Cosimo in Firenze, con tanta reputazione e con sì granda allegrezza dall' esilio, con quanta, mai ritornasse alla patria sua alcun altro cittadino trionfante, da qual si voglia o possa immaginare felicissiman impresa vittorioso; e benchè egli si sforzasse in tanta sua felicità, e grandezza di mantenere sempre quella civile modestia, la quale osservò in ogni sua azione mentrechè visse, ad ogni modo appariva in lui una tal maestà di principe, che merito per pubblico decreto d'esser chiamato padre della patria, la quale da esso fu per trenta anni, pacificamente governata. Nerli, p. 43.

At the return of Cosimo, those citizens who had been his chief friends, and some others who had been injured and oppressed by the late administration, were determined at all events to take the government of the state into their own hands. The signori therefore, that was drawn for the two ensuing months of November and December, not content with what their predecessors had already done in favour of their party, prolonged the term, and changed the residence of several who had been banished, and sent numbers of others into exile. And this was done not only out of party rage, but likewise on account of their riches, alliances, and private connections : so that this proscription, except in the article of bloodshed, might in some measure be compared to that under Sylla and Octavius. There were, however, some executions ; for Antonio, the son of Bernardo, was beheaded ; and four other citizens, having left the place to which they had been banished, and gone to reside at Venice, were secured by the Venetians as setting a greater value upon Cosimo's friendship than their own reputation, and sent prisoners to Florence, where they were put to death in an ignominious manner. These examples greatly increased the strength of Cosimo's party, and struck a terror into that of his enemies. When they had thus cleared the city of their enemies, and such as they thought disaffected to their government, they began to strengthen their hands by caressing and heaping favours upon others. For this purpose they recalled the family of the Alberti, and all the rest of the exiles that had been formerly banished : they reduced the grandees, except some very few, to the rank of commoners, and divided the possessions of those whom they had banished among themselves. After this they fortified themselves  
with

with new laws and ordinances, and made a fresh imborstation, taking the names of all suspected persons out of the purses, and filling them up again with those of their own friends. They likewise took care that such magistrates as had the power of life and death entrusted to them should always be chosen out of the most eminent of their party; for which purpose they ordained, that the syndics, who inspected the imborstations in conjunction with the old signori, should have the power of appointing a new one. They left the cognizance of capital offences to the eight wardens, and enacted, that no exile should return, even after the term of his banishment was expired, till he had obtained the consent of the signori and thirty-four of the colleges, though the whole number of them amounted to no more than thirty-seven. All persons were prohibited to write or receive any letters from them; every word, or sign, or gesture, that displeased the governors, was punished with the utmost severity. And if there was any suspected persons left in Florence, who had not fallen under their lash for such offences, they took care to load them severely with new taxes and impositions; so that, one part of their adversaries being driven out of the city, and the other depressed and overawed by these means, they in a short time secured the government to themselves; and to support their power with foreign aid, and deprive their enemies of all assistance if they should offer to disturb them, they entered into a defensive league with the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan.

Cosimo is very tenderly treated by Machiavel; yet he has impartiality enough to record the tragical story of Neri and Baldaccio. Among those who had the chief authority in the government,  
Neri

Neri was one, of whose reputation Cosimo was more jealous than of that of any other person ; as he had not only very great credit in the city, but was exceedingly beloved by the soldiery, whose affections he had gained by his bravery, humanity, and good conduct, when he commanded the troops of the republic, as he had done upon several occasions ; besides which, the remembrance of the victories that had been gained by him and his father ; one of whom had taken Pisa, and the other defeated Piccinino at the battle of Anghiari, made him respected by many and feared by others, who did not desire any more associates in the government. But of all their generals, Baldaccio was certainly the most eminent ; nor was there any man in Italy, at that time, who surpassed him either in courage, or military skill, or bodily accomplishments : and, having always commanded the infantry, they had such an opinion of him, that it was generally believed he could influence them to execute any purpose, and that they would follow him in any undertaking whatsoever.

This Baldaccio was very intimate with Neri, for whom he had the highest esteem, on account of his valour and other good qualities, of which he had long been a witness ; but it was a connection that excited infinite jealousy among the rest of the principal citizens ; who, thinking it dangerous to let him enjoy his liberty, and still more so to imprison him, resolved to have him dispatched ; in which fortune seemed to second their design.

It is very provoking to read these continual imputations to fortune, made by Machiavel, of events which he knew very well were the effects of secret intrigue ; for there is no doubt it had been previously concerted to get Bartolomeo or  
Candini



Candini appointed standard-bearer of justice ; who having been sent to defend the pass of Marradi, when Picconino invaded Tuscany, had shamefully deserted it, and abandoned all that country to the fury of the enemy, which from the nature of its situation was of itself almost inaccessible. So flagrant a piece of cowardice provoked Baldaccio to such a degree, that he could not help expressing his contempt of him, both in public conversation and in letters which he wrote to his friends, in terms that not only excited Orlandini's resentment, but made him thirst for revenge, and flatter himself that he should extinguish the infamy of the fact by the death of his accuser. To this resolution some other citizens (the Medici) were privy ; who encouraged him in it, and said, that by so doing he would sufficiently revenge the injuries which he had suffered himself, and at the same time deliver the government from the fear of a man whom it was dangerous to employ, and might be their ruin to dismiss. Orlandini therefore, being confirmed in his purpose to assassinate him, shut up several armed men in his apartment ; and the next day, when Baldaccio came to attend at the palace, as he did most days, to confer with the magistracy concerning the pay of his soldiers, he was ordered to wait on the standard-bearer immediately, which he did, without suspecting any danger. As soon as they met, and had taken a turn or two in the gallery, which is before the chambers of the signori, they began to talk about their affairs, and at last coming near the door of the apartment where the armed men were concealed, the standard-bearer gave them a signal, upon which they instantly rushed out, and, as Baldaccio had neither arms nor attendants, they soon dispatched him, and threw him out of the palace window,

window, from whence he was carried into the piazza; and after they had cut off his head, his body was exposed all day as a spectacle to the people. This tragical event gave a considerable check to Neri's interest, and diminished the number of his partisans. The governors, however, did not stop here; for, as they had been now ten years in the administration, and the authority of the *balia* was expired, many began both to talk and act with much greater freedom than they thought was consistent with the security of the state. In order therefore to establish themselves in their power, they judged it necessary to revive that court; by which they would have an opportunity of strengthening the hands of their friends, and more effectually depressing their enemies. With this view the councils instituted a new *balia* in the year 1444, which confirmed the present magistrates in their respective departments, vested the privilege of choosing the *signori* in a few hands, and new-modelled the chancery of reformation, deposing the president, Philip Peruzzi, and setting another person at the head of it, who they were well assured would conform himself to their instructions. They likewise prolonged the banishment of such as they had before sent into exile, imprisoned Giovanni, the son of Simone Vespucci, and deprived all those of their honours and employments that adhered to their enemies; amongst whom were the sons of Pietro Baronulli, the whole family of the Seragli, Bartolomeo Fortini, Francisco Castellani, and many others. By such means they at the same time regained their former authority and reputation, quashed all opposition, and got entire possession of the government. But Givolamo, not observing the bounds that were prescribed to him in his banishment, was

afterwards

afterwards declared a rebel ; and travelling about Italy to excite other states to make war upon his own country, he was betrayed and apprehended at Lunigiana, by one of the governors of that place, who sent him to Florence, where he was put to death in prison.

This administration lasted about eight years, and was indeed a very tyrannical and insupportable one ; for, Cosimo being now grown so old and infirm that he could not attend to public affairs with his usual assiduity, the government fell into the hands of a few insolent and rapacious men, who knighted *Luca Pitti*, for the good services he had done the state ; he had also rich presents made him, not only from Cosimo and the signori, but from all the principal citizens, so that he became very rich, and built him several magnificent palaces, and finished them by very arbitrary means, extorting more and greater presents from the chief citizens, whom he obliged to furnish him with all necessary materials, and making the commonalty supply him with workmen and artificers. The divisions which arose in Cosimo's party in 1455, were happily composed, for some time, by his moderation and prudence ; but in the beginning of the year 1464 he fell sick, and soon after died \* ; an event much lamented both by his friends and enemies : for those who did not love him for reasons of state, seeing their governors so greedy and ravenous while he was alive, and that they were only restrained, by the reverence they bore to his person, from proceeding to open violence, began to fear, now he was dead, that they should be utterly ruined and devoured. They had but little hopes in his son Pietro, who, though a very worthy

\* In 1464, in the 75th year of his age. Nerli, p. 49.

man, had so weakly a constitution, and was yet so raw and unexperienced in matters of government, that they thought he would be obliged to comply with the measures of the others; and there being no longer any person of sufficient authority left to check their career, they would become every day more and more oppressive. The loss of Cosimo was therefore universally regretted, and with great reason; for considering he was no soldier, he was the most renowned and illustrious citizen that Florence or any other republic had produced in the memory of man. As he surpassed all others of his time in riches and authority, so he far exceeded every one in prudence, liberality, and magnificence; which great and amiable qualities made him the head of his country. Though he shewed a truly royal spirit in his great works and actions, and was in fact the sovereign of Florence, yet so remarkable were his prudence and moderation, that he never transgressed those bounds of decency which ought to be observed by a modest republican. In his little parties of pleasure, in his conversation, in his alliances, and in every respect, he both acted and spoke like any other citizen; well knowing that pomp and pageantry, and ostentatious parade, are not only of little real service, but excite that envy among men which is not incident to such actions as are done with an appearance of modesty and humility. No man of his time had a more perfect knowledge of mankind in general: in all the various revolutions of so fickle and fluctuating a commonwealth, he maintained his authority for the space of thirty-one years; for as he was naturally sagacious, he foresaw dangers afar off, and therefore took timely care to prevent them. This great man was born in 1389: the former part of his life was full of troubles and

disasters; but afterwards fortune was so propitious to him, that not only all those who adhered to him in the public administration of the commonwealth were aggrandized and enriched by it, but such as negociated his private affairs abroad (as he had factors in almost every part of Europe) acquired great wealth; so that many families in Florence raised immense fortunes under his influence, and several others owed every thing they had entirely to his advice and assistance. He was continually laying out vast sums in churches, public buildings, and charities of different kinds. He was likewise a great patron and benefactor to learned men, and first brought Argiophilus to Florence, a Grecian by birth, and the greatest scholar of his age, to instruct the youth of Florence in the Greek tongue, and made him preceptor to his son and nephew. This writer dedicated his works to the family of Medici, viz. his Translation of Aristotle's Ethics and Physics, his own book *De Regno*, &c. Cosimo was at the expence of maintaining Marcilio Ficino, the restorer of the Platonic philosophy, who translated the works of Plato, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Proclus, &c. and had so great an esteem for him, that he gave him a house and estate near his own seat at Careggio, that he might pursue his studies there with more convenience, and entertain him with his conversation at leisure hours; so that he had great merit in the resurrection of letters, and perhaps in the formation of Machiavel himself, to whom the world is so much indebted for the revival of reason in matters of government, and who appears to have been himself so much indebted to the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, if ever the rise of any family to absolute sovereignty upon the ruins of a republic could be pardonable,

this

this of the Medici, which was by real virtues, abilities, and beneficence, must be acknowledged to be an instance of it: but it never can be justified, nor ought ever to be excused, where there is a possibility of establishing a constitution well balanced and really free; and it may well be doubted whether any nation that has once been free can ever become so universally or even generally corrupted, as not to be able to conduct a government of three well balanced branches. He died full of glory, and with the highest reputation. After his death all the states and princes of Christendom sent compliments of condolence to his son Pietro; and he has this inscription engraved on his tomb by a public decree, "The Father of his Country." Machiavel is conscious that he shall be suspected of writing a panegyric upon Cosimo, rather than an historical portrait; and not without reason, for he was a dependant on the Medici family; and he has evidently hurried over some, and glossed over others of Cosimo's arts. He appears to have had more merit, as well as more art, than Augustus.—It is scarcely worth while to pursue this history, and relate the conspiracies which were formed against Pietro and the Medici, or the suppression of them. The name of Medici had become a charm in the ears of the Florentines, like that of Hercules among the Greeks, Cæsar among the Romans, Orange among the Dutch, and others without end: and if absolute power must be established, it was as well in the Medici as the Pazzi. But Leo the Tenth is not so excuseable for not adopting a wiser plan.

About the time of the death of Cosimo, Lewis the Eleventh of France was embroiled in a troublesome war, which his barons had raised against him, at the instigation of Francis duke of Bre-



tagne, and Charles duke of Burgundy, which they called the war for the public good \*; which lay so heavy upon him, that he could give no further assistance to John duke of Anjou, in his designs upon Genoa and Naples. By these means Ferdinand of Arragon became king of Naples, and count Sforza duke of Milan, and lord of Genoa; and having contracted family alliances together, they began to take all proper measures to establish themselves and their posterity in their governments. For this purpose it was judged necessary that the king should, in the first place, make sure of such of the nobility as had taken part with John of Anjou against him in the late wars. The king made use of every artifice to reconcile his nobility to him, in which he at last succeeded; for they saw that if they continued in arms against their sovereign, they must inevitably be ruined, but if they came to an accommodation with him, or submitted to his mercy, they might obtain a pardon. These noblemen accordingly made their submission to him, but were afterwards all put to death at different times, upon one pretence or other.

1465. In 1465 Paul, the second Venetian, was elected pope; and the next year Sforza duke of Milan died, and was succeeded by his son Galeazzo, an event that not only added fuel to the animosities that were rekindling in Florence, but occasioned them to burst out into a flame; for after the death of Cosimo, his son Peter, being left heir to his riches and authority, thought proper to attach himself to Neroni, a man of very great power and reputation in the city, and of whom Cosimo had so great an opinion, that upon his death-bed he

\* Philip de Comines.

gave Peter a strict charge to consult him, and to be guided entirely by his advice in every thing that related either to the management of his own estate, or the administration of the public. In consequence of this command, Peter sent for him, and having told him how great a confidence his father had reposed in him, he hoped he would assist him both in conducting his private concerns, and in the government of the city. Neroni promised to serve him faithfully; but when they came to examine Cosimo's books, they found his affairs in very great confusion: Neroni, therefore, who was more influenced by motives of self-interest and ambition than either by the friendship he had professed for Peter, or the remembrance of the obligations he lay under to his father, thinking he had now a fair opportunity of ruining that reputation and authority which Cosimo left him heir to, gave him a piece of advice, which, to all appearance indeed, seemed both equitable and necessary, but ultimately tended to his destruction. He represented to him in how great disorder his affairs were, and what large sums of money he would have immediate occasion for, if he intended to support his family interest, and the reputation they had acquired of opulence and power in the commonwealth; and that there could be no relief or expedient so proper as to call in the debts that were owing to him, both from foreigners and his fellow-citizens: for Cosimo, out of his natural generosity, and in order to establish an influence at home, and gain friends abroad, had always been so ready to open his purse to every one who stood in need of his assistance, that those debts arose to a prodigious amount. To this proposal, which seemed but just and reasonable, Peter consented, and, like an honest man, resolved to make use of his own substance only in that emergency:

but he had hardly called upon two or three of his debtors, before the whole city was in an uproar, every one upbraiding him with avarice and ingratitude, and loading him with all manner of reproaches and ignominious names, as if he had come to plunder them of their own property, instead of demanding payment of a lawful debt. Neroni, seeing the general resentment which his own council had excited against Peter, turned his back upon him, and entered into a combination with Lucca Pitti, Sodorini, and Acciaivoli, to deprive him of all power and authority in the state. The end they all had in view was the same; but their motives to pursue it very different. Pitti was ambitious to succeed Cosimo in the government of the republic; and became so great after his death, that he disdained the thoughts of stooping to Peter: Neroni, who knew that Pitti was not equal to so great a charge, thought, that if they could by any means get rid of Peter, the chief power must of necessity in a short time devolve upon him: Sodorini was desirous that the city should enjoy more liberty, and be governed by the proper magistrates, as it used to be in former times: Acciaivoli had a particular quarrel with the Medici; thinking Cosimo had not used him well in an award between his son and his wife, and not being able to revenge himself upon Cosimo, was now determined to do it upon Peter. However, they all availed themselves of the same pretext, and said, that they neither desired nor aimed at any thing further, than that the republic might be governed by lawful magistrates, and not by a little junto of particular persons. The failure of several merchants about that time still increased the clamour that was raised against Peter, and gave the people fresh occasion to revile him; for they

they made no scruple of imputing the blame to him, and said, that the sudden and unexpected calling in of his money had been the occasion of those bankruptcies, to the great loss and discredit of the merchants in particular, and the prejudice of the whole city. Besides all which, as he was going to marry Lorenzo, his eldest son, to Clarissa degli Ursini, every body took occasion from thence to calumniate him; publicly declaring, that since he could not think any match in Florence good enough for his son, it was plain he did not regard them any longer in the light of fellow-citizens, but was taking his measures to make himself their sovereign. From such a temper in the people, these ringleaders of sedition promised themselves certain success, especially as the greater part of the citizens were so bewitched with the name of liberty, which they had made use of to varnish over their private designs, that they cheerfully listed under their banners. But while these ill humours were fermenting, there were some who, out of a real love for their country, and abhorrence of civil discords, resolved to try if they could not palliate them, for a while at least, by turning the attention of the people upon some more entertaining object; considering, that an idle populace is generally made use of as a tool to serve the purposes of such as attempt any innovation or change of government. To employ them, therefore, in such a manner as might best divert their thoughts, and prevent them from entering into cabals and conspiracies against the government, and at the same time to console them in some measure, after their mourning for the loss of Cosimo, who had now been dead a year, these citizens thought it would be no bad expedient to revive the public spectacles with which the people

used to be entertained. Tournaments also were instituted, in which Lorenzo carried away the prize from all others. But as soon as these entertainments were over, the citizens returned to their former machinations with more ardour than ever; from whence arose great troubles and divisions, which were much inflamed by the expiration of the Balia, and the death of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan. Galeazzo, the new duke, sent ambassadors to Florence, to confirm the treaty of alliance that had been concluded between his father and the republic; one article of which was, that the Florentines should pay that prince a certain yearly subsidy. The principal of Peter's enemies took the opportunity which this demand furnished, of publicly opposing him in council, and refused to comply with it. We may pass over the long, though entertaining account, of the commotions, intrigues, and civil war between one party, whose object was the ruin of Peter and the Medici family, both in their private affairs and in their public influence; and the other, who exerted themselves for their preservation. The last prevailed, and the other was banished and confiscated. Some of these fled to Venice, and harangued the senate of that republic into a war against Florence and the Medici; but this war was unsuccessful, peace was soon made, and the Florentine exiles, deprived of all hopes of ever returning to their country, dispersed into different places. Tranquillity abroad succeeded; but now the Florentines were grievously harrassed and oppressed at home by the tyranny and ambition of their fellow-citizens; for Peter was so disabled by his infirmities, that he had it not in his power to curb the insolence of his own partizans, or provide any remedy: he sent, however, for the principal of them, and sharply

sharply reprimanded them. It is generally believed that, if he had lived, he would have recalled the exiles, to bridle the tyranny and rapacity of his own friends: but death, in the fifty-third year of his age, put an end to these good designs. He left two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, both very promising.

Sodorini was at this time the most considerable among the leading men of the state; and for his prudence and authority, in great reputation, not only in Florence, but with all the princes of Italy; so that after the death of Peter he had the highest reverence and respect shewn him by all the citizens, who daily resorted in great numbers to his house; and several states and princes addressed their letters to him, as head of the commonwealth. But as he was a wise man, and had thoroughly balanced his own fortune, and the circumstances of his family, with those of the Medici, he modestly declined returning any answer to those letters; and gave his fellow-citizens to understand, that it was not to him, but the Medici, that they ought to pay their court. He assembled the heads of all the chief families in the city, and presented to them Lorenzo and Giuliano, and said, that if they were desirous to live in peace and union at home, and secure from foreign invasions, it was necessary to continue their observance to the house of Medici, and support those young gentlemen in the authority which their ancestors had enjoyed: that it was but natural to shew the same regard to the family, which they had so long been used to do, and therefore it must rather be a pleasure than a grievance to them; for if mankind were apt to be fond of novelties, they were, for the most part, as soon disgusted with them: that it had been found much more easy to maintain one in power, whose



whose enemies were in a manner extinguished by time, than to raise another which must unavoidably be subject to new emulations, and speedy ruin, from many causes and unforeseen accidents. Lorenzo too, though very young, made a speech with much gravity and modesty; the citizens, before the assembly broke up, solemnly engaged to be guardians of their youth, and they, on the other hand, as solemnly promised to reverence them at all times as their protectors and parents. After which, Lorenzo and Giuliano were looked upon as the heads of the republic, and putting themselves under the guidance and direction of Sodorini, the state seemed to be perfectly composed, neither distracted by intestine discords, nor embroiled in foreign wars. But Bernardo degli Nardi soon found means to excite the ruined families, who had been exiled at the fall of Lucca Pitti, to kindle another war, which was extinguished only by the destruction of the town of Prato. After this insurrection, which was suddenly raised, and soon suppressed, the citizens of Florence began to sink into luxury and effeminacy. The youth growing more dissolute than ever they had been before, and having nothing else to do, threw away their time and estates in dress, in feasting, in gaming, in women, and other such dissipations. Their whole study and emulation was to surpass each other in fine cloaths.

A new war broke out on occasion of a mine of alum discovered at Volterra. Sodorini thought a "lean peace better than a fat war;" but Lorenzo, thinking this a favourable opportunity of distinguishing himself, and being supported in his opinion by those who envied the authority of Sodorini, his opinion prevailed, and Volterra was reduced.

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In 1476 happened the assassination of Galeazzo, duke of Milan, and the destruction of the assassins, who, as usual in such cases, were left unsupported, both by the nobility and the multitude who had at first encouraged them. Such examples ought to be warnings to princes, to reign in such a manner as to make themselves honoured and beloved by their subjects; and to others, against trusting to nobles or the multitude, except in a very good cause; for though these may be discontented to the last degree, they will seldom stir a foot to their assistance in distress or danger.

After the Medici had gained such an ascendant, by the defeat of their enemies, in 1466, they grew so powerful, that they in a manner engrossed the government of the republic wholly to themselves; and their power was so great, that such as were dissatisfied to their administration were either obliged to submit to it with patience, or endeavour to shake off the yoke, by clandestine machinations and conspiracies; which being attended with great difficulties and dangers, for the most part end in the ruin of the conspirators, and only serve to aggrandize and strengthen those still more against whom they are formed. Italy was divided into two confederacies; the pope and the king of Naples were on one side; the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines, on the other. When Philip de Medici, archbishop of Pisa, died, the Pope appointed an enemy of the family of Medici (Salviati) to succeed him. The signori refused to give him possession of the see. The Medici were discountenanced upon all occasions at the court of Rome, while the greatest respect and partiality were shewn there to the Pazzi, a family indeed which at that time was

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one of the richest and most powerful in Florence : Cosimo, considering their opulence and quality, had married his grand-daughter, Bianca, to Guglielmo de Pazzi, in hopes of uniting the two families more strictly, and preventing all jealousies and emulation betwixt them by such an alliance. But so vain and fallacious are all human designs, the event proved quite contrary, for some of Lorenzo's friends having insinuated to him that it would be dangerous to him, and a diminution of his own authority, to throw any more power into the hands of that family, he would not suffer Giacomo, nor any of his brothers or nephews, to enjoy such honours and offices as they seemed to deserve in common with their fellow citizens. The Pazzi, therefore, were so exasperated at this usage, that the Medici began to be afraid of them, and the apprehensions of the one seemed to encrease in proportion to the resentment of the other ; for in all competitions for places of honour or profit, the Pazzi, how much soever they might be favoured by the suffrages of the people, were always sure to be set aside and rejected by the magistracy. The Pazzi, therefore, thinking it intolerable that people of their rank and fortune should be treated in that injurious manner, began to meditate revenge. He accordingly concerted a conspiracy with many other persons, and attempted to assassinate both the Medici at church. Giuliano was murdered with such circumstances of perfidy as would disgrace the most infamous cause, much more a cause dignified with the name of liberty. Lorenzo defended himself with great bravery, and escaped with a slight wound. The insurgents rode about the town, and cried, Liberty ! Liberty ! and called upon the  
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the people to join them. But such was the influence of the Medici, and so much were they beloved, on account of their liberality and other princely qualities, that the rest of their fellow-citizens did not desire to see any change of government. The whole city was raised, and Lorenzo safely conducted by a great number of armed men to his own house: the palace was recovered by the people, and all those who had seized upon it either taken or killed; the streets resounded with shouts of Long live the Medici! while the limbs of the conspirators who had been killed were either carried upon halberts, or dragged round the city; every one endeavouring to shew his resentment, both in words in actions, against the Pazzi: for they not only plundered their houses, but hurried Francisco out of his bed to the palace, and there hung him up, close by the archbishop and his associates. So great was the favour and interest which the family of the Medici had gained among the people, by their prudence and liberality, that there was not a citizen of any degree whatsoever who did not go to Lorenzo, and make him an offer both of his person and fortune. Rinato, and Giacono de Pazzi, were both apprehended, condemned, and executed, with so many others, that the streets and highways were full of their limbs. None of them were much lamented, except Rinato, who had always been esteemed a prudent man, and void of that family pride which was laid to the charge of all the rest. After the conspiracy was suppressed, and the authors of it punished, the funeral of Giuliano was solemnized with great pomp, and attended by all the citizens. He left one son, born some months after his death, and named Giulio, who was afterwards pope Clement

ment the Seventh. The pope and the king of Naples, when they were disappointed of bringing about a change of government in Florence, by under-hand machinations, now resolved to attempt it by open war; but the good fortune of the family, Lorenzo's address, and the steady attachment of the Florentines to him, carried them safely through this danger too. After the quarrels among the more considerable states were composed, there happened many other disturbances for the course of several years, in Romagna, La Marca d'Ancona, and Siena: they were more frequent in Siena than any where else, after the departure of the duke of Calabria, in 1488; but after many changes and revolutions there, in which sometimes the commonalty and sometimes the nobility prevailed, the nobility at last effectually suppressing the other party, Pandolpho and Giacompo Petruccio, one of whom was in the highest repute for his wisdom, and the other for his valour, became in a manner princes of that city. As for the Florentines, they lived very happily, and in perfect tranquillity, from the end of the war till the death of Lorenzo, in 1492. For Lorenzo, having established a general peace throughout Italy by his great wisdom and prudence, had began to turn his thoughts entirely to the aggrandizement of the republic, and the care of his own family. In the first place he married his eldest son Peter to Alphonsina, daughter to Cavaliere Ursini, and procured a cardinal's hat for Giovanni his second son, who was not quite thirteen years of age when he was promoted to that dignity, of which there had been no example before; but he ascended by degrees through all the preferments of the church, till he was exalted to the pontificate, under the name of Leo the Tenth. His

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third son Giulano was but an infant. He also disposed of his daughters very much to their advantage. In his mercantile affairs he was rather unfortunate; for such was the extravagance of his factors, who lived more like princes than private men, that they had dissipated the greater part of his merchandize; so that he was often obliged to borrow large sums of the public. His chief desire was to promote union among the people, and support the nobility in that degree of honour and respect that was due to them. He shewed great favour to those who excelled in any art, and was a very liberal patron to learned men. He was passionately fond of poetry, music, and architecture. He founded the university of Pisa. Immediately after his death such sparks of discord began to re-kindle, as shortly broke out into a flame, and preyed upon the vitals of Italy.

Peter, the great-grandson of the first Cosimo, having entered into a league with France, Louis XII. without the consent of the signori, was ejected by the Florentines, and retired to Venice; so that the Florentines recovered and enjoyed their ancient liberties till 1512, when Ferdinand king of Spain restored the family of Medici, which was expelled again in 1529. In 1530 Charles V. seized upon Florence, and made Alexander de Medici, great-grandson of Lorenzo, and who married his natural daughter Margaret, sovereign and duke of Florence. Alexander was murdered about seven years after, and having left no children, was succeeded by his brother John, whose son Cosmo was created grand-duke of Tuscany, by pope Pius V. in 1569. Voltaire says, that the period while Florence was under the government of the Medici ought to be called the Medicean age, as the polite arts and sciences were then carried



carried to the highest degree of perfection: then it was that those great geniuses, Ariosto, Machiavel, Guicchiardini, Cardinal Bembo, Trissiano, Casa, Bernini, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian, Paul Veronese, and so many others, adorned the age, and rendered their names immortal.

Machiavel's introduction to his seventh book, according to his custom, is full of grave reflections. "Those are much mistaken, who think any republican government can continue long united."—So are they who think that any despotical or monarchical government can continue long united; and it is as easy, and more so, to form and preserve the union of a republican as of a monarchical government. A constitution formed upon the nature of man, and providing against his discontented temper, instead of trusting to what is not in him (his moderation and contentment in power) may preserve union, harmony, and tranquillity, better than any despotism. Republics that trust the content of one assembly or two assemblies are as credulous, ignorant, and servile, as nations that trust the moderation of a single man. And it is as true of one as the other, *ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*. "Differences and divisions for the most part are prejudicial to republics; and yet it is certain there are some that are of service to them." The same is true of despotisms and monarchies. Divisions are hurtful for the most part, yet some are beneficial. "Those indeed are hurtful that are attended with parties and factions; but when that is not the case, they tend to the benefit of the commonwealth. As it is impossible, therefore, for any legislator or founder of a republic entirely to prevent feuds

“ and animosities in it, it ought to be his chief  
“ care to provide against their growing up into  
“ factions.” This is easily done, by distinct and  
independent legislative, executive, and judicial  
powers, and by two councils in the legislature.  
Factions may be infinitely better managed in such  
a republic, than in a despotism or monarchy.—“ It  
“ must be considered then, that there are two  
“ roads to popularity in such states, the one  
“ through public stations, the other through pri-  
“ vate life. In the former it is acquired by gain-  
“ ing some signal victory, by the prudent and  
“ careful discharge of an embassy, or by giving  
“ wise and successful advice in council: in the  
“ latter, by beneficence to one’s fellow citizens,  
“ by screening them from the magistrates, by  
“ supplying them with money, by promoting  
“ them to honours and employments even when  
“ they do not deserve them, by entertaining the  
“ people with plays and spectacles, and by distri-  
“ buting largesses among them. This manner of  
“ proceeding procures followers and partisans:  
“ and as popularity thus obtained is dangerous  
“ to the state, because it is commonly applied to  
“ serve private and self-interested views; so the  
“ reputation that is acquired the other way is of  
“ credit and advantage to it, when not made a  
“ tool to party and faction, because it conduces  
“ to the good of the whole. And though emu-  
“ lation and envy will always spring up even  
“ among citizens of the latter sort, yet, as they  
“ have no partisans that follow them for their  
“ own private ends, they cannot hurt the com-  
“ monwealth; on the contrary, they must of ne-  
“ cessity be of service to it, for this very emula-  
“ tion will naturally excite their utmost endeavours  
“ to excel each other in their merits towards their  
Vol. II. K “ country,

“ country, and make them *keep so strict a watch*  
 “ *over one another’s actions, that none of them will*  
 “ *have it in their power to transgress the bounds*  
 “ *of good citizens.* But the divisions in Florence  
 “ constantly ended in factions, and therefore were  
 “ always pernicious to the republic; nor did any  
 “ one of those factions continue united any longer  
 “ than it had subdued the adverse party; for  
 “ when once that was done, and consequently all  
 “ fear and restraint were at an end, it immediately  
 “ subdivided, and split itself into others.”—In  
 truth, it is impossible that divisions, in any form  
 of simple government, should ever end in the  
 public good, or in any thing but faction. The  
 government itself is a faction and an absolute  
 power in a party, which being without fear and  
 restraint, is as giddy in one of these forms as in  
 any other. “*De l’absolu pouvoir, vous ignorez*  
 “*l’yvres.*” It must therefore divide, if it is not  
 restrained by another faction; when that is the  
 case, as soon as the other faction prevails they  
 divide, and so on: but when the three natural  
 orders in society, the high, the middle, and the  
 low, are all represented in the government, and  
 constitutionally placed to watch each other, and  
 restrain each other mutually by the laws, it is  
 then only that an emulation takes place for the  
 public good, and divisions turn to the advantage  
 of the nation.

Cosimo’s party got the upper hand in Florence  
 1434. in the year 1434; but as there were still many  
 very powerful men left on the side that was de-  
 pressed, they yet stood in some awe of them, and  
 therefore thought proper, not only to continue  
 united, but to behave themselves with modera-  
 tion; nor were they guilty of any misconduct or  
 oppressive act, of consequence enough to draw  
 upon

upon them the hatred of the people; so that whenever they had occasion for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens to renew their authority, they always found them ready to re-establish the chiefs of their party in any office they desired: accordingly, from 1434 to 1455, a period of twenty-one years, they were six times appointed by the general council to fill the *balia*. There were in these times two very powerful citizens in Florence, Cosimo and Neri; the latter of whom had acquired his reputation in the public way, so that he had many friends, but few followers and partisans. Cosimo, on the other hand, having gained his authority both by his public and private behaviour, had not only many friends, but partisans and dependents also; and these two continuing strictly united, never found any difficulty in obtaining whatsoever they asked from the people, as their power was founded upon the favour of the public. But Neri dying in the year 1455, and the adverse faction being utterly suppressed, this administration met with much opposition before they recovered their former authority; and chiefly from Cosimo's friends, who being now grown very powerful in the state themselves, and freed from all further apprehensions of their enemies, were likewise desirous to lower his popularity. This jealousy gave beginning to the troubles that broke out in the year 1446; for those who were then the leading men advised their fellow-citizens, when they were assembled in the general council, to take the state of the commonwealth into consideration, not to create any more *balias*, but to resume the imbursements, and to choose their magistrates by lot out of the purses that had been formerly filled. To cure them of this phrenzy, Cosimo had no other remedy, but either to

Cosimo.  
Neri.

1446.

seize forcibly upon the government, by the assistance of such partisans as still adhered to him, and to crush all opposition at once; or to let things take their course, and wait till time should convince his friends that they were labouring only to destroy their own power and reputation, and not his. He chose the latter expedient; for he knew he should run no risque in that, as the purses were filled with the names of such as were well affected to him, and that he might consequently take the administration into his hands again whenever he pleased. He suffered them therefore to proceed to an imbursement; but when the new magistracy was drawn, and every one thought they had now fully recovered their former liberties, the magistrates began to act in their respective departments, not according to the dictates and directions of those leaders, but as they thought fit themselves: so that sometimes the friend of one great man, sometimes the creature of another, met with an unexpected rebuff; and those who before used to see their houses filled with presents and solicitors, now had neither substance sufficient to live upon, nor even common servants to attend them. They likewise had the mortification to see themselves reduced to a level with such as they had used to look down upon with the highest contempt and disdain; and those who before were their equals, now suddenly advanced far above them. They had neither honour nor respect shewn them by any one: on the contrary, they were insulted and abused wherever they went; and every body made so free with their private characters, and public conduct, that they soon began to be aware that it was not Cosimo, but themselves that had lost their authority. Cosimo, in the mean time, took little or no notice of these things;

things ; but when any thing was deliberated upon that he thought would be agreeable to the people, he was the first that promoted the execution of it. But what struck the greatest terror into these grandees, and gave Cosimo a fair opportunity of making them repent of their past behaviour, was the renewal of the catasto, that took place in 1427, by which the taxes were regulated and proportioned by law, and not levied according to the caprice or pleasure of particular men. This law therefore being revived, and officers appointed to see it executed, the grandees having had a consultation together, went to wait upon Cosimo, and intreated him to use his endeavours to deliver both them and himself out of the hands of the plebeians, and to new-model the government in such a manner, that they might retrieve the reputation which formerly had made him so powerful, and them so much respected ; to which Cosimo made answer, “ that he would do what lay in his power for that purpose with all his heart, provided it could be brought about legally and quietly, and with the good-will and approbation of the people ; but that he never would consent to violent measures, or using force of any kind.” They then endeavoured to get a law passed in the councils for a new balia ; but finding it would not go down, they returned to Cosimo, and besought him in the humblest manner, that he would make use of his interest to get it passed : but with this Cosimo peremptorily refused to comply, being determined to make them fully sensible of their error. Upon which Donato Cocchi, who was the gonfalonier of justice, resolved to set up a balia without his concurrence : but Cosimo raised such a spirit among the rest of the magistrates, that



they not only opposed him with the utmost vehemence, but laughed at him, and treated him with so much scorn and derision, that it drove him stark mad, and he was carried back to his own house raging and frantic. Luca Pitti \*, a bold and resolute man, being now made gonfalonier of justice, Cosimo resolved to leave the management to him; so that if any miscarriage should happen, or any odium be incurred, it might be thrown upon the gonfalonier, and not upon him. Luca was very importunate with the people to appoint a balia; but perceiving it was to no purpose, he not only treated those who were members of the councils with great insolence, but threatened them, and soon after put his threats in execution: for having filled the palace with armed men, in 1453 he called the people together in the piazza, and there compelled them, by force of arms †, to do that which they would not so much as hear of before. After they had thus resumed the government, they created a balia; and the new magistrates, at the instigation of a few particular persons, who advised them to support an authority with terror which they had usurped by force, began their administration with sending Givolamo Machiavelli and some others into exile, and depriving many more of their honours and employments.

\* Luca Pitti, tenuto uomo animoso, et molto più audace, che savio, o prudente. Nerli, p. 48.

† Pero avendo Luca Pitti già consumato il primo mese del suo magistrato, non lascio passare, molti giorni del secondo che avendo disposto i signori suoi compagni, et provvisto il palazzo d'arme, e di forze, e Cosimo, e gli altri della parte essendosi provveduti, e armati in favore de' signori, fecero chiamare il popolo in piazza e si venne al parlamento secondo il costume solito mediante il quale si creò una nuova balia, e si ristrinse in quello lo stato, ordinandosi nuove imborfazioni, &c. Nerli, p. 49.

Guicchiardin begins his history of the wars in Italy, where Machiavel concludes that of Florence, viz. with the death of Lorenzo de Medici in April 1492, the same year that the sagacity, fortitude, and good fortune, of that ever memorable native of Coguretto, a village near Genoa, Christopher Columbus, of plebeian birth, but of noble genius, in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain \*, laid the first foundation of the constitutions of the United States of America. The death of Lorenzo was a severe misfortune to his country, which had flourished, under the influence of his prudence, reputation, and genius, in all the blessings and embellishments of a long and secure peace; and very inconvenient to all Italy, who regarded him as a principal counterbalance to Ferdinand of Naples, and Sforza of Milan, princes as ambitious as they were powerful. Peter the Second, the eldest of his three sons, who succeeded him without contradiction, was not qualified by experience or abilities for so important a station. Deviating early from the councils of his father, and without consulting the principal citizens, he was wholly directed by Orsini, a relation both by his mother and his wife, but a dependant of Ferdinand. This new connection, so prudently avoided by his father, excited the jealousy of Sforza, and was the source of all the ensuing evils. Without reciting the particulars of his vanity, rashness, and imprudence, especially a foolish treaty with France, which he made, without consulting the magistrates,

\* Muratori, Annals, tom. ix. p. 367, anno 1492.

Guicchiardin, lib. 6. Americus Vespucius, who began his voyages in 1497, the two first of which he made by order of Ferdinand of Castile, and the two last by order of Emanuel of Portugal, was a native of Florence.

1494. on the ninth of November 1494, as he was going into the palace, Nerli, a youth of noble birth and great wealth, at the head of some others of the magistracy, stood armed at the gates \*, and forbid him to enter. The populace, as soon as the report of this insurrection spread in the town, instantly took arms. Peter, destitute of courage as well as advice, returned to his own house, where he was informed that the magistrates had declared him a rebel; upon which he fled with precipitation to Bologna, and was followed by his two brothers, Giovanni the cardinal, and Giuliano, who were likewise attainted. Thus, through the rashness and levity of a thoughtless youth, the family of the Medici fell, for the present, from a sovereign power which they had exercised for sixty years. From Bologna they went to Venice. After some time the king, their ally, obtained a reversal of Peter's attainder, and that of his two brothers, and a restitution of their effects, on condition that Peter should not approach within an hundred miles of the borders of the republic, which was designed to prevent him from settling in Rome; nor his brothers within an hundred of the city. After the exile of Peter and his brothers, the city of Florence attempted once more to reform its government †; but, says Nerli, the citizens who ought to have reformed the state, fell into the same error with all who had preceded them in similar enterprizes, and founded the new government, as others had done whose steps they followed, upon parties and civil factions, as may be seen in the whole history of Florence, and for the benefit and

\* Nerli, p. 62. Muratori, Annal. tom. ix. p. 374, anno 1494. Fu egli dichiarato co'fratelli ribello, posta taglia contro le loro persone, e poscia messo a sacco il ricchissimo loro palagio.

† Nerli, p. 63.

convenience of the superior party and more powerful factions, and not at all for the benefit of the generality, or the universal good; and therefore it was impossible that a pacific and quiet republic should succeed, or a durable government be established. They created, however, according to the ancient custom of the city, and by way of a parliament, always a scene of violence and inconsistent with all civil modesty, twenty Accoppiatori, or associates, with authority to imburse the signori from time to time, and to create, with other restless disturbers of the public peace, the principal magistrates; and they resolved, that Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco di Medici, who then declared himself one of the inhabitants, *de popolani*, though under age, should be one of the twenty; and this was accomplished by their extraordinary reputation and influence, and thus he was made the head of the new government; and this whole revolution changed nothing but the head, and not at all the nature of the government. It was in this convention, which Nerli calls a parliament, that those elegant speeches, which Guicchiardin\* has preserved or composed, one for Soderini, and the other for Vespucci, are supposed to have been made: but it is surprising to see, that neither orators so eloquent and able, nor an historian who so elegantly reports the debate, appear to have once thought of the natural and necessary remedy. One is for a government simply popular, and the other for a form simply aristocratical; but neither thinks of an equal mixture of the three forms, nor even of the two, nor does an idea occur of separating the legislative from the executive power. Soderini admits that, among

\* Guicchiardin, lib. ii. p. 41, Ven. 1574.

all writers upon government, praises have been more liberally bestowed upon the administration of a single prince, and upon that of a few of the best citizens, than upon any popular government; but he thinks that the desire of liberty is so natural or habitual in that city, and the condition of the citizens so proportioned to that equality which is the necessary foundation of a popular government, that this ought, without all doubt, to be preferred to all others: he even thinks a question could not be made of this, as in all their consultations it had ever been determined with universal consent, that the city should be governed in the name and by the authority of the people. But the diversity of opinions arose from this, that some would cheerfully consent in the regulation of the convention to that form of a republic with which the city governed itself before her liberty was oppressed by the family of the Medici; others, among whom he reckons himself, judging a government so ordered to have, in many things, rather the name than the effects of a popular government, and terrified with the accidents which frequently result from such governments, desire a more perfect form, which may preserve concord and security to the citizens, blessings which, neither from reason nor experience, can be expected in this city, if it is not under a government dependent entirely on the power of the people, which must however be well ordered by two fundamental regulations: the first of which is, that all the magistrates and officers, both in the city and all its dominions, shall be distributed, from time to time, by an *universal council* of all those who, according to our laws, are qualified for a participation in government; without the approbation of which council new laws cannot be deliberated:

thus,

thus, it not being in the power of private citizens, nor of any particular conspiracy or intrigue, to distribute dignities or authority, none will be excluded from them by the passions or caprice of others, but they shall be bestowed according to the virtues and merits of men: by consequence, every one must endeavour by his virtues, good manners, and by rendering himself agreeable both in public and private life, to open his way to honours; every one must abstain from vices and injuries to others, and, in one word, from all those things which are odious in a well-constituted city. It will not be in the power of any one, nor of a few, by new laws, or by the authority of a magistrate, to introduce another government, or to pretend to alter this, but by the resolution of the universal council.—The second fundamental regulation is this, that all the most important deliberations, as those of peace and war, the examination of new laws, and generally all those things which are necessary to the administration of such a city and dominion, shall be treated by magistrates, particularly destined to this service, in a select council of the most experienced and prudent citizens, who shall be deputed by the popular council; for as the knowledge of these affairs of state is not found in every understanding, precautions should be taken that the government may not fall into hands incapable of conducting it; and celerity and secrecy, which are often indispensable, cannot be consulted or preserved in the deliberations of a multitude: nor is it necessary for the maintenance of liberty, that such things should be treated by large numbers; for liberty remains secure at all times when the distribution of magistracies, and the deliberations on new laws, depend on universal consent.—These two points



being secured, the government will be truly popular, the liberty of the city well founded, and a laudable and durable form of a republic established. He then compares his project with the plan of Venice, to which it has not however the smallest resemblance; and proceeds: "This city of ours has never enjoyed a government like this, and therefore our public affairs have been constantly exposed to frequent mutations; at one time trampled down by the violence of tyranny; at another torn by the ambitious and avaricious dissensions of the few; now shaken by the licentious fury of the multitude: and although cities are built for no end but the tranquillity, security, and happy life of the inhabitants, the fruits of our government, our felicity, our repose, have been the continual confiscations of our estates, the banishments and the executions on the scaffold of our miserable citizens."

This is the substance of Soderini's oration, in which he is fully sensible of the tyranny and slavery of alternate factions, and the consequent miseries with which the history of Florence was filled: but instead of proposing a rational remedy, he is for aggravating the evil. The executive power, the appointment of officers, had been the cause of discord; he now only proposes to give those appointments to the multitude, instead of a senate; to the universal, instead of the particular council: the only effect of which would be, that more heads would be turned, and more passions inflamed.

Vespuci. The oration of Soderini was answered by Vespuci, a famous lawyer, and a man of singular genius and address. "If," says he, "a government, instituted in the manner proposed by Soderini, most excellent citizens, would as easily produce  
such

such desirable fruits, he would certainly discover a most corrupted character who should wish for any other for the regulation of our country. He would be a most pernicious citizen, who should not love, without reserve, a form of a republic, in which virtue, merit, and the real value of men, should be above all things acknowledged and honoured. But I confess myself ignorant, how it is possible to hope that a regiment, placed absolutely in the power of the people, can be productive of such mighty blessings. I am, on the contrary, most assuredly confident, that reason teaches us, that experience demonstrates, and that the authority of the greatest lawgivers confirms, that in so great a multitude there can never be found such prudence, such experience, and such order, that we may have room to promise ourselves that the wise will be preferred to the ignorant, the good to the evil, or men of experience to those who have never seen a public transaction. As from an incapable and unskilful judge it is not possible to hope for a sagacious sentence; so from a people, immersed in ignorance and involved in confusion, we cannot expect, without a miracle, prudent deliberations or rational elections. Can we believe that a multitude, inexpert, unskilful, compounded of so great a variety of geniuses, conditions, and customs, and wholly devoted to their private affairs, can possibly distinguish and know those intricate interests and duties of the public, which men of the most consummate wisdom, who are wholly inattentive to any other business, are often with great difficulty able to discern? Not to mention, that the unbounded esteem which every one entertains of himself, will stimulate them all to become ambitious of honours: nor will it ever be satisfactory to men in a popular government

ment to enjoy the honest fruits of liberty, but all will aspire to the highest rank, and be impatient to intermeddle in all deliberations upon affairs of the most importance and greatest difficulty; for among us there is less than in any other city in the world of that modesty, which yields the precedence to him who has more knowledge or more merit. Persuading ourselves as we do, that, in reason and by right, we ought all of us to be equal in all things, the applause of virtue and merit, if left in the disposition of the multitude, will be confounded, and this ambition being diffused through the majority, will designedly bestow the most power on the most ignorant and the least meritorious, because, being by much the most numerous, they will have the most influence in a state so constituted, that opinions must be numbered and not weighed. What certainty therefore can you have, that although they may be satisfied with the form that you introduce at present, they will not presently disarrange the institutions the most wisely concerted, by their novel inventions and imprudent laws, to which the wisest citizens will not be able to resist? These things, at all times dangerous in such a government, will be much more so at present, because it is the nature of mankind, when they fly from one extreme, in which they have been held by violence, to rush with greater violence, without stopping at the mean, to the other extremity. Thus he who escapes from a tyranny, if unrestrained, precipitates himself into an unbridled licentiousness, which also may most justly be called a tyranny; for a people is exactly like a tyrant, when they give to him who has no merit, when they take away from him who has much, when they confound all gradations and distinctions

tions of persons, and their tyranny is perhaps so much the more pestiferous, as ignorance, which has no weights, nor measures, nor laws, is more dangerous even than malignity, which may govern itself by some rule, restrain itself by some bridle, and satisfy itself with some end. Has this city ever been under the absolute government of the people, without becoming an instant prey to discord, without being shaken to its foundation, and without suffering an immediate revolution in the state? Why are not our liberties secure under the government proposed in this parliament? All things are referred to the disposition of magistrates, who are not perpetual, but are frequently changed; who are not elected by a few, but, having been approved by many, are appointed, according to the ancient usage of the city, by lot. How then can they be appointed by factions, or by the will of particular citizens? We shall have a much greater certainty, that affairs of the most importance will be examined and directed by men of the most wisdom, experience, and gravity, who will govern with more order, secrecy, and maturity of judgment, than it is possible for a people, who are incapable of such things, to possess: a people, who are often, when there is little occasion for it, most extravagantly splendid and expensive, and oftener still, when there is the most urgent necessity, are so penurious and niggardly, as to rush upon the greatest dangers and expences, for the sake of saving the most trifling sums."

In truth, both these speeches, with all their eloquence, were thrown away. Soderini was for collecting all authority into one centre, the people; and Vespucci into another, the senate: neither dared propose a separation of the executive from both in a first magistrate; and without that, and admitting

ting both the senate and people to a share, there could be no peace nor harmony in Florence. The question, however, was not decided by the logic or rhetoric of either: few of the citizens attended the convention, and the vote would have been for the aristocracy of Vespucci, if another orator had not intervened. This was Savonarola the prophet, who declared, that he had a divine revelation from heaven in favour of a popular government, and that Jesus Christ should be chosen king of Florence\*, against his own express declaration, that his kingdom was not of this world.—The twenty accoppiatori, who had no head to keep them united, and necessarily fell into a variety of factions and divisions among themselves, perceiving their dissensions, the other citizens in general, and especially all those of the greatest reputation, who at the election of the twenty had not been chosen of the number, began to take courage, and raise a cry against them for their divisions, and the † weakness of their government: and Savonarola declared, that God had constituted him his ambassador in Florence, with full power and express orders to declare his will, that Christ should be king, and that under him the city should be governed only by a single assembly or popular council. The multitude believed him, and in 1495 the twenty were all obliged to resign, and give place to the greater council and popular government‡, and a new palace was built for them, with such ardent enthusiasm, that it seemed to be true, as Savonarola declared, that the angels had acted as masons and architects, that

\* Nerli, p. 65.

† Nerli, p. 64.

‡ Il consiglio maggiore, e il governo popolare. Nerli, p. 66. Che gli angioli in quell' opera s'eseritassero in luogo de Muratori, et operai, perchè piu presto fusse finita.

the work might be the sooner finished. But this new government could no better agree than the accoppiatori, and for the same reason. The new great council, as well as the whole city, soon divided into three parties. The greatest and most powerful was that which depended upon Fra. Giralamo, and was called the party of the Frateschi, and consisted of those who most desired to live freely, and nearly of all those who were gratified with the latitude of the popular government. The second party were desirous of having the government more restrained, and in the hands of a smaller number of the principal citizens; but were still desirous of liberty, and, as well as the Frateschi, were in opposition to the party of the Medici. The third party consisted of those who wished for the return of the Medici, and the restoration of the old government. The views, motives, and manœuvres of these three factions are particularly described by Nerli, and their jealousies, envies, ambition, and various schemes to supplant each other, in so natural a manner, that one would think his history written expressly to expose the folly of a government in one center.

In 1495 the Florentines met with fresh and dangerous troubles from other quarters, excited by the potentates of the league, who encouraged Peter to attempt his restoration to Florence. Peter, like all other exiles, ready to embrace every offer, imagined his own party powerful, and the new government odious, especially to the nobility; so that he could not fail of success: he made several advances, and excited some exertions among his friends, but was disappointed of any effectual assistance, and at length gives up the enterprize.



1497. In 1497, the pope and Venetians conceived a new project for separating the Florentines from the French, the unhappy state of their city, in which there were such great divisions among the citizens, owing to the form of their government, giving encouragement to any power that wished to molest them : for, says Guicchiardin, in the first institution of the popular authority in Florence, there had not been introduced a mixture of those temperaments, which, together with securing, by suitable methods, the common liberty, might prevent the republic from being thrown into confusion by the ignorance and licentiousness of the multitude. For this reason, the citizens of better rank, meeting with less respect than their condition seemed to require, and the people on the other hand jealous of their ambition, multitudes of mean capacities frequently assisting at important debates, and the supreme magistracy, to whom was referred the decision of the most difficult affairs, being changed every two months, much confusion was occasioned in the government of the republic. To this must be added, the great authority of Savonarola, whose followers were more numerous than those of the contrary opinion, and appeared to have much the greater share in the distribution of places in the magistracy, and of public honours ; by which means the city becoming manifestly divided, one party still clashed with the other in all the public deliberations, as it always happens in divided cities, when *men care not how much they obstruct the common good, for the sake of lowering the reputation of the adverse party.* These disorders were the more dangerous, because, besides the long vexations and great burthens borne by that city, there was that year  
a very

a very great scarcity: whence it might be presumed, that the half-starved populace were desirous of a change. This unhappy disposition gave hopes to Peter; who was besides incited by some of the citizens: By secret assistance from the Venetians, and various other ways, he collected together a military force, and made an attempt, in 1497, upon Florence; but having neither genius nor resources, he failed: His partisans committed a number of massacres in some of the neighbouring towns: but his plot was discovered, and his principal friends in Florence, after full proof of the order and management of the conspiracy, were convicted and sentenced to death. The relations of the persons condemned appealed to the grand council of the people, by virtue of a law that was made when the popular government was established. The other party, apprehending that compassion on the age, and nobility, and number of the relations of the criminals, might prevail on the affections of the people, several members of the supreme magistracy were, by pressing importunities, and almost by force and menaces, constrained to consent, that, notwithstanding the interposition of the appeal, execution should be done the same night. Of what avail is law in such a government, for the protection of life, or security of liberty! The most zealous sticklers for this were the favourers of Savanarola, who was reproached for not dissuading his followers from the violation of a law, which but a few years before had been proposed by himself, as necessary for the preservation of liberty. But a dominant party, when there are but two, and no third power to balance them, is never long bound by any law, morals, or decency.

1498. The next year, 1498, Savanarola himself was burnt, not for his enthusiastic impostures, but for preaching against the corruptions of the court of Rome, under that hellish monster of vice and cruelty Alexander the Sixth, which would not have been remembered here, if politics and party, rather than piety, had not produced this event, as well as the assassination of Francesco Valori, a nobleman of great influence, for being the chief patron of Savanarola, and the cause that the appeal to the popular council had not been admitted. The passions of party, their hatred and revenge, as well as their ambition, under such unbalanced governments, lay hold of any popular prejudice, and most frequently of religious zeal, and the assistance of any means, even the friendship of an Alexander and a Borgia, to aid their gratification. But scattering the ashes of this martyr in the Arno did not, says Nerli, quench the flames of discord, nor heal the divisions of the city. The people remained in the same dissensions, every one quarrelling for his faction as usual\*; and fresh disputes and dissensions arose; first, between Vitelli and the count Di Marciano; second, by reason of the difference between the king of France and the duke of Milan; and third, on account of elections and the magistracies.

1500. In 1500 Cæsar Borgia†, having already subjected a great part of Romagna, desirous of extending his dominions in Tuscany, and having good intelligence of the disposition and divisions

\* Nerli, p. 81. Resto il popolo nostro nelle medesime dissensioni, e travagliato dalle sue solite sette, come si fusse prima.

† Nerli, p. 88. Muratori, Annals, tom. x. p. 1.

in the city of Florence, attempted to restore the Medici, and was diverted from the enterprize by an embassy and a round sum of money. In 1502 a rebellion was excited in the city of Arezzo, which excited fresh divisions in Florence, and produced new attempts to reform the government; first, by giving a head to the greater council; and second, to constitute a gonfalonier for life; and Soderini, who had no children, had great qualities, was moderately rich, of a family of great reputation, &c. and had rendered important services to the state upon many occasions, was accordingly elected. But he had no thoughts of changing the popular government any further, and was soon found to have too much moderation for some of his friends. Rucellai, and Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de Medici, and some other citizens, broke off from him, would not attend his feasts, and grew discontented.

1502. This year died the pope Alexander the Sixth, and Peter de Medici, who, with some other noblemen, following the French camp after their defeat by the Spaniards at Gaeta, entered on board a bark which was laden with artillery, and was drowned at the mouth of the river, by the bark's sinking under her burthen in a contrary wind. But these events, so fortunate in appearance for Florence, could not secure her tranquillity. The new gonfalonier for life had many parties in fermentation against him: those who desired a more popular government, and that his office should only be annual, or for three months; those of his own party, who thought him not zealous enough to make the government more aristocratical; and those who wished the restoration of the Medici, and a government completely monarchical. All these various kinds of citizens were daily ob-

serving his conduct, criticising his administration, exaggerating his errors, and destroying his reputation and popularity.

1505.

In 1505, Bartolomeo d'Alviano invaded their country \*, with a view to assist the Medici, but he was routed and put to flight. From so great a victory the citizens hoped for happiness, quiet, and repose; but the effects of it were quite the contrary, and increased the secret opposition and cabals of the discontented citizens against the gonfalonier. Bentivoglio, ambitious to be made captain-general, and Giacomini, to increase his popularity, united in the desire of adding to the glory they had acquired in the late victory the conquest of Pisa. The project of this enterprise occasioned great confusions in the city. The wisest and best men declared themselves against it, but such numbers were bent upon it, that the gonfalonier, either blinded by the same passions arising from success, or to counteract his adversaries, or confiding too much in Bentivoglio, fell in with it. After tedious disputes, angry accusations, and mutual reproaches in the city, the enterprise was resolved in the great council, with loud huzzas of the common people. A great expence was incurred in ample preparations, but the end was as unfortunate as the wiser citizens had predicted;

\* Nerli, p. 95. Muratori, Annals, tom. x. p. 25, 26.—  
Erano i cittadini quasi tutti dichiarati a quale delle due parte piu aderissero, o a quella del gonfaloniere, o a quella de' Salviati, di manjerachè nel fare de parentadi, o nel concedere per mezzo de' magistrati grazie, o benefizi, o nel favorir questo, o quell' altro cittadino, che de' magistrati avesse bisogno, si scoprivano le passioni, e gl' interessi del gonfaloniere, o de' Salviati, ed in somma veniva in gara, se si dovevano pure rimutare, o di nuovo eleggere per infino a' tavolaccini del palazzo, e in ogni minima cosa si scoprivano gl' interessi delle fetti. Nerli, lib. v. p. 99.



the two principal officers lost all the credit of their former services, and Sodorini, the gonfalonier, lost much of his reputation, more of the popular confidence and affection; and in proportion as these fell, those who had opposed the war rose in the public esteem. The enemies of the gonfalonier increased, and their opposition, headed by the Salviati, grew more active and determined, and weakened the government to such a degree, that it was unable to execute the resolutions, when taken by so small majorities, or to command the soldiers; or to elect the council, the eight commissaries of war, or ambassadors, or indeed resolve upon any thing. The two parties could agree upon nothing, and all the citizens were so decidedly declared partisans, either of the gonfalonier, or of the Salviati, that they would not intermarry, or ever give a vote for any man to any office or public favour, who was not of their side.

Causes enough of debate in the grand council, and in the city, arose from day to day. In 1506, an ordinance for regulating the militia in the country, and enrolling every man from fifteen to fifty years of age under captains and colours, for frequent exercise in the military art; the demand of Alfonsina Orsini, the widow of Peter de Medici, of the restitution of her dower, confiscated with the estate of her husband; the marriage of her daughter Clarissa to Phillip Strozzi; the resignation of the archbishop of Florence; the appointment of a successor; the war of Pisa: in 1508, the creation of commissaries; the concession of Pisa to the king of France;—all occasioned such struggles, as excited at last a conspiracy against the gonfalonier, in order to assassinate him, for the purpose of introducing the restoration of the Medici. This plot was discovered,

1506.

1508.



but the guilty persons had such parties in the city, and the gonfalonier was become so unpopular, that the slightest punishment only could be inflicted. As in such a state of parties every measure of government is opposed, another controversy arose about the continuance of the truce with Siena, which was at last agreed to upon the concession of Montepulciano. Various new disputes were now occasioned by the new council in Pisa. Finally, the city found that, amidst all the great transactions in Italy, by the divisions among the citizens, and their continual oppositions to each other in every reasonable measure, they had not only very ill served their ally the king, but given great offence to the pope.

1512. In 1512 was the battle of Ravenna; and after a long series of wars, in which the emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain, the Swiss, the pope, the Venetians, and all other states in Italy had been concerned, a congress was held at Mantoua in 1512. Giuliano de Medici, in his own name, and that of the cardinal, here solicited an enterprise against the Florentines. A revolution he pretended might be easily effected in that state, through the divisions of the citizens, many of whom wished for the return of his family. By private intelligence, which he said he maintained with several noble and powerful personages in the city, he thought a sudden attack might easily succeed, and the consequence would be, the taking the power of Florence out of the hands of one who depended on the king of France, and committing it to persons who, injured and abused by him, would acknowledge no alliance but that of the confederates. He was seconded, in the name of the pope, by Bernardo de Bibiena, afterwards cardinal, who had been educated in the family of Medici.

Medici. An offer was secretly made to Sodorini, a lawyer, and brother of the gonfalonier, who was then ambassador from Florence, that if the Florentines would comply with the demand of a sum of money, the emperor and king of Arragon should take them under their protection. The ambassador had no authority to conclude any agreement, and could only make his report to the republic. It was believed, that if the Florentines had laid aside their niggardly chaffering about the price, they might have diverted the storm; but either through the carelessness or the malignity of men, the cause of that city was abandoned, and it was resolved that the Spanish army, attended by the cardinal and Giuliano de Medici, should march towards Florence, and that the cardinal, whom the pope in this expedition had declared legate of Tuscany, should call to his assistance the soldiers of the church, and those of the neighbouring towns, whom he thought fit for his purpose. The viceroy, at the head of the Spanish army, was no sooner entered the Florentine dominions, than he was met by an ambassador of the republic, to know what he required of them. The viceroy demanded, in the name of all the confederates, that the gonfalonier should be deprived of his office, and that such a form of government should be established, as would not give occasion of umbrage to the allied powers, which could not be effected without restoring the cardinal and Giuliano de Medici to their country. —The government of Florence was in the greatest consternation, from the divisions among the citizens, and the inclinations of multitudes to a change. A message arrived from the viceroy, that it was not the intention of the league to make any alteration in the government or liberty of the city,  
but

but only to remove the gonfalonier from the magistracy, for the security of Italy, and to restore the Medici, not as heads of the government, but as private persons, to live under subjection to the laws and to the magistracy in all things. Various were the opinions in the city, according to the difference of men's judgments, passions, and fears. The gonfalonier, in a long harangue to the great council \*, offered either to resign his envied office, or defend it at the hazard of his life, as they should determine. If the Medici, says he, have an inclination to live as private citizens, in due subjection to the ordinances of the magistrates and of your laws, their restoration would be laudable; but let not any one imagine, that the government of the Medici will be exercised in the same manner as before their expulsion. The form and foundation of things are changed: educated among us, they were familiar as other citizens, and, possessed of vast estates in proportion to their high dignity, they laid the foundation of their greatness in the affections of the citizens; but now, bred up in strange customs, and having little insight into our civil affairs, resenting their exile, very indigent, affronted by so many families, conscious that the greater part of the people abhor tyranny, constrained by poverty and suspicion, they will have no consideration for any citizen, but will engross the direction of all affairs to themselves, and

\* Fece al popolo una orazione bellissima, che a que' tempi, e in quel caso era molto a proposito, la quale, essendo io allora in quel consiglio, udii quando la fece, ed è anco molto elegantemente scritta da Messer Francesco Guicciardini nella sua storia. Narrò in quella il gonfaloniere tutte le sue azioni di dieci anni; dipoi offerse sè, le facultà, e la propria vita per beneficio della città, e per mantenere quel libero governo, ed alla fine si rimesse tutto in quel popolo, che l'aveva posto in quel grado.

establiſh their adminiſtration on fear and force, not love and benevolence. The city will become like Bologna under the Bentivogli, or like Siena and Perugia.—It was with wonderful unanimity reſolved to conſent to the return of the Medici as private citizens, but to reſuſe the removal of the gonſalonier, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; and all hands were ſet to work to prepare for war, and the defence of Prato. The vice-roy laid ſiege to Prato, took it by aſſault, which was followed by flight, ſhrieks, violence, rapine, blood, and ſlaughter. This ſad diſaſter produced a vaſt change in the minds of the people at Florence; the gonſalonier repenting of his counſel, terrified, and deprived at once of all eſteem and authority; others grew audacious: ſeveral young noblemen, with one of the family of Albizzi at their head, who had been in ſecret correſpondence with the Medici, forced the gonſalonier out of the public palace, and the magiſtrates were compelled to depoſe him \*. He fled to Ragufa.

Ambaſſadors

\* Tal fine ebbe il ſupremo magiſtrato di Piero Soderini eſercitato da eſſo nove anni, e dieci meſi, e ſe in tale ammi- niſtrazione, oltre a molte ſue buone opere, aveſſe aggiunto quel, che anche molto più importava alla città, e a lui, l'aver tenuto più conto, che non fece, di chi veramente l'aveva condotto in quel grado, giovava forſe più aſſai, che non fece, alla città, a ſuoi cittadini, a ſe medefimo, ed alla ſua caſa, e ſarebbeſi quel governo popolare forſe anche meglio mantenuto, come ſi mantenne, ne primi otto anni, che ſi reſſe ſenza capo alcunodopo il 1494, che non fece poi in quei dieci, che lo reſſe Piero Sodorini. E ſe quel ſuo governo di nove anni e dieci meſi fu, ed è ancora tanto lodato, necque da quel buono ordine, che ſi tenne più nello ſplendere, e nello ſtare meglio ordinata la città, che in quellì primi otto anni non ſi fece, e dal conſiderarlo più da quello, che pareva in apparenza, che da quello, che era in fatti, ed in ſomma il gonſaloniere non ſeppe mai eſſer principe nè cattivo, nè buono, e credette troppo colla pazienza, godendo, come ſi dice, il beneficio del tempo,

Ambassadors were sent to the viceroy, with whom, by means of the cardinal de Medici, they easily made an accommodation. He insisted only on the restoration of his family and their adherents, as private citizens, with power to redeem, within a certain time, the confiscated estates, indemnifying those to whom they had been transferred for the purchase and improvements. The Florentines were obliged to enter into the league, pay the emperor forty thousand ducats, the viceroy eighty thousand for his army, and twenty thousand for himself. They made a league besides with the king of Arragon, under reciprocal obligations of assisting each other. It is astonishing that the Florentines should not yet be able to see the causes of their continual misfortunes, and the necessity of different orders, and a balance in their constitution. The citizens now applied themselves to reform their government, to preserve their liberty, and the popular council, their all authority in one centre, their right constitution of a commonwealth. To this end they enacted, that the gonfalonier should no longer be elected for life, but only for a year; that to the council of eighteen, which was changed every six months, and by whose authority the most weighty affairs were determined, should be added, for life, all those who had discharged the great offices of state at home or abroad, that the citizens of greatest quality might always assist at their debates: at home, such as had been gonfaloniers of justice, or of the number of the ten of the balia, a magistracy of great au-

tempo, superare tutte le difficoltà, che s'egli opponevano, e non bene avverti, come debbono fare i principi savi, e i buoni capi, e governatori di repubblica, che sempre, e ad ogni cosa la pazienza non giova, e che il tempo a lungo andare può arrecare così male, come bene. Nerli, p. 109, 110.

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thority in that republic; of such as had served abroad, all who by election of the council of eighty had been sent ambassadors to princes, or had been commissaries general in war: in all other points the laws remained without alteration. Ridolfi, a noble citizen, was elected gonfalonier for the first year; the people, as usual in troublesome times, not paying so much regard to those who were most acceptable to them for popular arts, as to a person who by his great authority in the city, especially with the nobility, and by his own extraordinary talents, was best capable of establishing the tottering commonwealth. But things were now gone too far, and the enemies of public liberty were become too powerful: a suspected army was in the country, and the most audacious youth in the city were desirous of oppressing liberty. With them concurred in thoughts and deeds, though in words he pretended the contrary, the cardinal de Medici; for the restoration of his family as private citizens could not have been thought from the beginning a reward worthy of so great fatigues and dangers. But now he considered, that they must be universally detested by the people, from a suspicion that they would be continually exciting conspiracies against their liberty, and from the indignation conceived against the family for conducting the Spanish army against their country, and being the cause of the barbarous sackage of Prato. The cardinal was stimulated too by those who had before conspired with him, and had no honourable station in the new commonwealth. He therefore obtained the consent of the viceroy, unexpectedly entered Florence, and repaired to the houses of the Medici with a number of Italian officers and soldiers, the magistrates not daring to forbid their entrance, on account



count of the neighbourhood of the Spanish army. The next day a great number of citizens being assembled in council in the palace, and Giuliano de Medici among the rest, the soldiers suddenly forced the gate, and rushing up stairs, took possession of the palace. The gonfalonier and the magistrates were forced to submit to the will of a man, whose arms were more powerful than their unarmed reverence, and at the motion of Giuliano, called, by sound of the bell, an assembly of the people in the square of the palace. Here those who met, finding themselves surrounded by armed soldiers, and the youth of the city in arms for the Medici, consented that fifty citizens, nominated with the approbation of the cardinal de Medici, should be invested with the whole sovereign power of the people, which the Florentines call a *balia*. The government was reduced to that form which subsisted before 1494, a guard was stationed at the palace, and the Medici resumed their former grandeur, but governed more imperiously, and with more absolute authority than their father Peter had done. After this manner was the liberty of the Florentines oppressed by arms, being reduced to this condition by the divisions among the citizens. This was in 1512.— In 1513, the pope Julius the Second died, and the cardinals in conclave unanimously elected Giovanni cardinal.

1512. On the first of September 1512, the new signori, without any gonfalonier or supreme magistrate, united with Giuliano de Medici, and the principal citizens of Florence, and especially with those who, having been in opposition to Soderini, or being relations, or declared friends of the Medici, were the most in their confidence, to give orders for a new reformation of the city. It was thereupon

thereupon ordained, by an intrigue of the signori, that a cabal of about twenty citizens should determine among themselves the mode of reformation in the state; but even in this junto arose many contests, and various projects were proposed. There were among them some who, without considering the forcible manner in which the Medici had returned, wished to re-establish the popular government, and maintain by all means the grand council, at least in part, in its authority, and in order to give the government a head, would constitute a gonfalonier for one year, or two at most; and desired farther, in order to give a greater perfection to the government, to make an addition of select citizens to the council of eighty, who should be, as a senate of the best men, for life, with a certain authority and full power, and with certain particular orders and prescribed forms; and of this opinion were the greater part of those citizens who had been in opposition to Soderini, not so much from attachment to the Medici, as for other reasons. The Medici, and their most avowed partisans, and chiefly those who in their opposition to Soderini had discovered themselves the most averse to the popular state, because they did not think they could obtain pardon from the people, could scarcely hope to live in freedom, and were sure to have no share in the government, would, for their greater security, restrain the state to its ancient form, and reform it by a convention, not believing that they could accomplish it in the ordinary way, as it had been restrained in the house of Medici before the year 1494. And after many accommodating manœuvres of Giuliano de Medici, by his great facility and kindness with those who desired a large government, and to preserve the grand council, it was concluded to pass a law in this cabal, for  
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the reformation of this government, and it was accordingly proposed in the grand council, and received with great applause; for every body was so dispirited, and so terrified with the thoughts of a convention of the people, which was much talked of and greatly desired by those who wished to restrain the state into an aristocracy, that this new law of reform was highly relished, as it lessened the authority both of the people and the grand council. By the new law it was ordained, that for the future the gonfalonier should be created by the grand council for one year, who should be disqualified from holding the office for five subsequent years, and that all his connection should be excluded during his year from holding any of the greater magistracies, such as those of the signori, the sixteen gonfaloniers of the companies of the people, and the twelve buonhomini: the chief magistrate was also prohibited from holding any negotiation or correspondence with any other prince, republic, or lord, in or out of Italy; from opening any letters addressed to the signori or any other magistrate, without the presence of two thirds of the signori his companions; or even any letter addressed to him alone, without the presence of two at least of the signori, who, under the pains of perjury, were obliged to shew such letters to the other signori, if they found any thing in such letters relative to the state or public affairs. The ladies too, and families of the gonfaloniers, were prohibited from inhabiting the palace, and from sending any letters or messages to any officer or magistrate abroad or at home; and the gonfalonier was assigned for his whole salary four hundred golden florins a year: and as to the mode of electing the senate, surplusage or optimates before mentioned, such disposition

position was made, by this new law for the reformation of the government, that for the future, at all administrations, deliberations, and elections of magistrates, usually made in the council of eighty, should intervene, during their lives, all the then present signori, and all those citizens who at any time had been gonfaloniers of justice, all those who had sat among the ten magistrates for war, and all who at any time had been elected ambassadors in the council of eighty to any prince or lord in or out of Italy; and to provide for those families or societies, in which there were not men of any such description, it was provided by the law, that such families might claim as far as two members, if they had not the number of two, or if they had not one, with the ordinary qualifications, but no more; and that such supplementary additions from the families should not amount to more than fifty in the whole, to be elected in the council of eighty, with its new addition, giving of these fifty a convenient part to the lesser arts, according to the order at that time in the city: and because Giuliano de Medici, and some of his declared friends, were incapable, either by minority of age, or by having in their families two or more who came within the ordinary rules, it was provided by the law (that they might not be excluded) that by a resolution of the signori alone, eleven more, besides the fifty, might be elected, eight of whom might be under the age prescribed of forty years. In this manner was the council of eighty, with its addition, to be constituted, and in it, from time to time, were to be created the signori, the ten magistrates for war, and the eight for the guard, in such manner as those magistrates were wont to be elected in the greater council, observing the order of elections

in the quarters of the arts, and all the forms which had been observed in electing such magistrates in the greater council. And to facilitate still further the public business, and to take away still more effectually, both from the people and the great council, the opportunity and the power of disarranging the public councils by withholding supplies of money, admonished by many past examples, the law provided, that such provisions of money, and impositions of taxes, for the public occasions, should be passed, in the first place, in the council of eighty, with the addition, by two thirds of the black votes or balls, according to the forms of balloting, and be concurred in the greater council by a division of one half of the black votes, and one more. The law was passed, 1513. and the same day, in October 1513, and in the same council, they proceeded to the election of a new gonfalonier. At the first ballot there was no choice, but at the second Giovambatista di Luigi Ridolfi was elected, and, in the presence of the council, took upon him, with the other signori, the supreme magistracy\*.

This plan of reformation, however, had greatly terrified the partisans and most declared friends of the  
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\* In questo tempo, per ordine de' vincitori, fu fatto menzione nel libro publico, chiamato il priorista, del parlamento fatto, e, de' Medici restituiti alla patria, a piede di quel priorato, ch'era entrato in ufficio a di primo di Settembre 1512, essendo gonfaloniere di Giustizia Giovambatista Ridolfi, nel qual priorista, si notano tutti i signori priori, che alla giornata si fanno, et aggiunto à ciò come la nobiltà si era vindicata, e ridotta in liberta, e riformato, e stabilito il governo della città, secondo la volontà de' gli ottimati, e patrizii. La quale distinzione di nobiltà, et ignobiltà, confesso io ingenuamente non haver mai saputo fare, ancora che io sia nato, et allevato nella medesima patria. Ma la lezione delle presenti memorie farà cognoscere colle spesse mutazioni



the Medici, as it appeared to them they should be in great danger, when an accommodation should be made with the league, and the Spanish army should be marched out of the dominions, of being again banished from Florence, to their total ruin; that of the new constitution, and the whole house of Medici; and in this apprehension they were well grounded, for although there was in the new plan an attempt at three natural branches, yet the executive power, and the power of the purse, were both left in the hands of the aristocracy, which would have instantly produced a division both among nobles and people, and the destruction of the house of Medici, as well as of the feeble popular branch of the constitution. Here was the best possible opportunity for introducing the most perfect form, by giving the executive power to one of the Medici, the power of the purse to the people, and the legislative power to both, together with the nobility: but either no man understood the subject, or too much ambition in the Medici, too much pride in the nobility, or too many prejudices in the people, or all three together, prevented it. The election too of Rodolfi, who was thought to be, as indeed he was, a spirited man, of a ce-

zioni d' animi, e di pensieri, e delle opere, quale sia stata sempre la diversità, e la contrarietà de' gli humori d' nostri cittadini. Conciosia cosa che io hebbia veduto i figliuoli discordare da padri proprii, et i fratelli da i medesimi fratelli nell' azzioni di questa stolta favola del mondo, secondo che chiascuno è stato vinto, e trasportato dall' empieto de' proprii appetiti. Nardi, lib. vi. p. 266.

Je n'ai pas pu comprendre, j'amaïs, ce que c'est, que la noblesse; Qu'est ce que c'est, que la noblesse? said one of the first duchesses in France. Ah madame, C'est un droit divin, said a gentleman in company. Oui, tout come la royauté, tout de même, je vous comprend bien, replied the lady, who had too much sense to pique herself on her divinity, or to believe a syllable of the matter.



lebrated house, most illustrious parentage, and of great reputation, increased their terror, especially as Ridolfi, in the deliberations on the new reformation, had discovered himself much in favour of a popular life, and having been ordinarily conspicuous in the faction of Fratesca, among whom he had been incorporated among the first after Valori, and having always, in all times, conjunctures, and circumstances, favoured that party which was always in opposition to the house of Medici, as is manifest to any one who has any knowledge of those times: whereupon many of the most open friends of the Medici, and those who most dreaded a popular government, entered into close concert with the cardinal de Medici, for the purpose of correcting the errors which Giuliano his brother, by his too great facility, had suffered to slide in. It was not difficult to dispose the cardinal to this, as they found him, since the late reformation, under the same apprehensions, and in the same disposition with themselves, neither himself, nor Messer Giulio, prior of Capua, his cousin, and a natural son, who remained of that Giuliano who died in 1478 by the conspiracy of Pazzi, judging it possible securely to continue in Florence, if the government remained in that manner in the hands of the people, and at the free discretion of the citizens: wherefore the cardinal came sometimes into the city, for he had resided in Prato when the reformation of the state was made in Florence, and took lodgings in St. Antonio del Viscovo, a place near the city, where he was visited by a multitude of the citizens, under various pretences. There discoursing with all concerning the condition of affairs as they happened, he began with great address to represent to some, that it was necessary to think of some good method for securing the  
state

state and his house, dwelling only upon general observations, and not descending to any particulars with those whom he believed to be desirous of a popular government, but with his more confidential friends, and with those whom he knew to be discontented with the new regulation of the government; and, finally, he opened himself to a few, shewing the necessity of a convention and a balia to a small number of citizens, in whom they could confide, who might contract the state to the form in which it stood before 1494 in the hands of the family of Medici. After these practices held at St. Antonio, the cardinal comes to Florence, resolved to call a convention, and contract the state: then began those citizens, who may be called the blind, who had been so opposed to Soderini, to see, when it was too late, and they had no longer power to provide a remedy, that danger now was at hand, which they had not been able to discern at a distance.

On the 16th of September 1513 the convention was assembled, the Medici and their friends in arms having seized the palace, which had been left without a guard, because Ridolfi, when he entered on his office of gonfalonier, either from a want of jealousy of the Medici and the viceroy, who was yet with his army at Prato, or for some other reason, not only had not armed the palace, as, in order to establish the new government, it was necessary to do, but he had caused it to be disarmed of the few guards which had been stationed there by the magistrates, after the privation and departure of Soderini; wherefore it was easy for the Medici and their partisans to seize the palace. The signori and the gonfalonier, and many other citizens, seeing the palace taken, and the absolute determination of the Medici and their armed fol-

1513.

lowers to contract the state, and that they could no longer support the popular government, agreed with Giuliano de Medici, who was in council, and had orders from the cardinal what to do. The people were accordingly called together in convention, according to the ancient custom of their parliaments, in the piazza; the signori mounted the rostrum, and a *balia* was created, that is, a full power was given to fifty-five citizens for a year, with the faculty of prolonging it beyond that period according to occurrences, for the convenience and support of the state and the government, and with the faculty moreover of associating to themselves in the *balia* such citizens as should be thought useful to the state. The first thing resolved on was to add eleven members to their number, making in the whole sixty-six, whose names Nerli \* has preserved. The next thing was to make a treaty with the league, and to pay well to obtain the consent of the Spanish army to march out of Prato and the Florentine dominions. An ambassador was sent to accompany the viceroy of Spain, and another, the locum tenens of Maximilian the Emperor. A strong guard was placed in the palace; Ridolfi renounced his office of gonfalonier; all the members of the family of Soderini were taken up and dispersed about in different confinements. A plan was established for the appointment of all officers, and the sum total of power was lodged in Giuliano de Medici, who, however, was to consult with the cardinal, with Messer Giulio, with Lorenzo their nephew, the son who remained of Peter de Lorenzo de Medici: but when the new distribution of offices took place, fresh divisions and dissensions

\* Nerli, p. 116, 117, 118.

arose, and secret plots were discovered, whose object was nothing less than the assassination of all the Medici. Among the conspirators were many powerful citizens. The chiefs of the party were beheaded, and the rest severely punished. At length the pope, Julius the Second, dies, and the cardinals in conclave\*, on the seventh day, unanimously elected Giovanni cardinal de Medici, who assumed the name of Leo the Tenth, aged thirty-seven. This election gave great satisfaction to all Christendom; all men expecting, from the recollection of his father's great merit, and from the fame of his own liberality, benevolence, charity, and irreproachable morals (so says the historian, but his actions discover an ambition too powerful for his virtue) that Leo would prove an excellent pontiff, and, from the example of his ancestors, a lover of men of genius and learning. His first transaction was his coronation, which was performed with so pompous an appearance of his family, and all the prelates and nobles from all parts, and so great a concourse of the Roman people, that Rome had never seen so proud a day since the inundations of the barbarians: the standard of the church was carried by Alfonzo; that of the religion of Rhodes by Giulio de Medici, all in armour, and mounted on a noble courser, for he was by nature inclined to arms, though his destiny drew him to the church. Such magnificence confirmed the vulgar in their expectations of happiness from this pontificate, which was likely to abound in liberality and splendor, as the expences of that day amounted to an hundred thousand ducats: but men of better judgments were of opinion, that so much pomp neither

1513.

\* Guicchiardin, lib. ix.—Nerli, lib. vi. p. 124.

became a pope, nor was suitable to the times, which required more gravity, simplicity, and moderation. This exaltation of Giovanni occasioned great rejoicings in Florence \*, for both the friends and enemies of the family were pleased, though for different reasons; the former from the hope of benefits and advantages, and the latter from the expectation of security, and the universal tranquillity of the city, which they thought would succeed. There remained, however, a secret discontent in the hearts of the wise, as may well be imagined, who could foresee at a distance, that so much grandeur in one family, who for sixty years had held in their hands the supreme authority of the government, might in time be the means of their return, and enable them to reform the state from a republic to an absolute principality. Upon this glorious occasion were liberated from the tower of Volterra, Valori, Folchi, Nicholas Machiavel, and all the others who, on account of the late conspiracy, had been hitherto imprisoned; a conspiracy which, if no further attempts had been made, and the two who had been beheaded could have been restored to life, would now have been wholly forgotten. The Sodorini too were all set at liberty, because the cardinal of that family had concurred with his vote in the creation of the pope. Cardinal Sodorini had been gained over to this election, by a promise of the liberation of his relations, and that Lorenzo di Piero de Medici should marry his niece, the daughter of his brother Giovanvetterio; but this alliance never took effect, because that Alfonsina, mother of Lorenzo, would never consent to it: to compensate for which disappointment, the pope proposed that the

\* Nerli, p. 124.

cardinal's niece should be married to Luigi Ridolfi, his nephew by a sister, and the cardinal at first seemed satisfied with the exchange, but it afterwards appeared that he took it very ill. A splendid embassy of twelve honourable and noble citizens was now sent to the new pope from the city of Florence. In all this grandeur of the house, in a few days appeared at Rome Giuliano, Lorenzo, and Giulio de Medici, to consult with the pope concerning several of their affairs, and the division of their greatness among them: it was finally resolved, that Giuliano should remain at Rome, with the title of gonfalonier, and captain of the holy see; and by means of an alliance which he made with a lady of the blood of Savoy, aunt of the king of France, he secured to himself the duchy of Nemours, and thus he voluntarily gave up all pretensions to the government of Florence. Lorenzo contented himself with the state of Florence, and soon returned to govern it, in the same manner and form as his father and his other ancestors had governed. Giulio was promoted to the archbishoprick of Florence, vacant by the death of Cosmo de Pazzi, with the prospect of being made a cardinal at the first subsequent creation which the pope should make. In this manner, in the beginning of the pontificate of Leo, did the Medici divide among themselves the state, and their own power and emoluments. Lorenzo returned to Florence, and consulted with the principal citizens about giving orders for reforming the government in all things, according to the intentions of the pope, resolved on in Rome, to the state it was in before 1494. They were very attentive to hasten on the general scrutiny, because of the absence of so many citizens, who for various reasons had gone to Rome, and after the creation



creation of the pope were not in haste to return; and when it was finished, imboised, and begun to be used, a council of seventy was made by Lorenzo, for life, in the form and with the authority as in the time of his grandfather in 1482; and orders were also given to constitute a council of an hundred, which from six months to six months, according to the ancient custom, should be drawn; and into this council of an hundred, at their pleasure, might enter all who had been gonfaloniers of justice; and in it were debated and determined all provisions of money, impositions of taxes, and all laws and ordinances of most importance, which had been previously approved in the council of seventy: and to enlarge their system still more, and make it more universally satisfactory, they ordained further, to draw from time to time the ancient councils of the people, and the commons, which might determine on the petitions of private persons, which should be first passed in the council of seventy; and in all cases which could occur, and for the security of the state, although they adopted these ordinary councils, they maintained always firm the authority of their *balia*, which was prolonged and maintained constantly in being until the revolution in the state, which happened in 1527. The scrutiny ended, they created the seventy, and drew the other councils, and began to make another change of the ten for war, for the eight of their new plot, to return every thing to the state it was in before 1494; and all these ordinances were thus renewed and perfected in December 1513, Pandolfo Corbinelli being then gonfalonier: and the seventy were elected for a term only, but with such power of confirmation, that they might be said to be for life. Notwithstanding all these precautions, and the absolute power

power of the balia, the divisions still continued among the principal citizens; some were for making the government more popular, others more aristocratical: and these divisions, which continued till 1527\*, gave much trouble to the Medici.

The affairs of the Medici and of the state being thus settled, Giuliano began to think he had been overseen, in leaving Florence to his nephew: and Lorenzo, amidst such grandeur in his house, begun to be discontented at remaining without any princely title, and at having no other than a civil rank in Florence; wherefore he shapes his course to Rome, and communicates his intention to the pope.

He returned in 1515, determined to be made captain-general of the Florentines; and this dignity was solemnly assumed by him from the hands of the gonfalonier of justice, who was at that time chimenti fernigi, in the presence of the signori, and of all the magistrates, and a great part of the people, assembled in the piazza with the staff of command, and the other public ensigns usually given to a captain-general, with the greatest demonstrations of joy and universal rejoicings. In this manner began Lorenzo to depart from the ancient manners of his family, and to lay aside in all things that mode of proceeding popularly in his dress, conversation, and intercourse with the citizens, which had ever been observed by his predecessors. Having assumed his title and magnificence, he went to Lombardy, to make his court to the king of France, who was come to Italy to establish his authority in Milan, which he

\* Erano i cittadini appresso a' Medici molto divisi, e dettero queste divisioni. che si maintennero sempre ne' primi cittadini del governo, dimolte difficulta a' Medici per infino al 1527. Nerli, p. 129.

had lately recovered. He became a great favourite with his majesty, from the great desire he had of agreeing with the pope, and because Lorenzo, in all his actions and conversation, discovered an attachment to the faction of the Guelphs and the politics of France. Soon afterwards an accommodation was made between the pope and the king, and the pope set out on a journey to Bologna, to have an interview with him. Passing through Florence, he made his entry into the city \* with great pomp. Between the pope and the king many things were agreed on, for their mutual defence, and the maintenance of their power; and Lorenzo, because he eagerly wished to increase his importance, and obtain the title of duke, solicited the pope, under the auspices of France, to undertake an enterprise against Urbino, as it was thought the king could not fail of success, the pope having restored Parma and Placentia, two cities which Giulio had added to the state of the church when the French lost the state of Milan. But the project of an enterprise against Urbino was very disagreeable to Giuliano de Medici, and he warmly opposed it as an infamous ingratitude, considering the civilities and favours the family had received in their exile from that dukedom. The pope was advised to recal the Bentivogli to Bologna, and restore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; but Giulio de Medici, says Guicchiardin, cardinal and legate of Bologna, whom the pope had sent to be a moderator and counsellor to the unexperienced youth of Lorenzo, moved at the infamy that would be cast on the memory of his legateship if Bologna was given

\* Con magnifico apparato, con molta pompa, e con solennità grandissima. Nerli, p. 129.

up to its old tyrants, and so great a number of the nobility, who had openly declared against them in favour of the apostolic see, sacrificed to their revenge, dissuaded it. Giulio, though of illegitimate birth, had been promoted to the cardinalship by Leo, in the first month of his pontificate, by means of witnesses, who preferring the favour of men before the truth, deposed, that his mother had obtained of his father Giuliano a promise of marriage. Giuliano this year came to Florence in ill health, and resided sometimes in the city, and sometimes out of it in the neighbouring cities, not without exciting great jealousy in Lorenzo, and Alfonsina his mother, who in the absence of her son governed. The pope was in great perplexity, and could not determine whether to undertake the enterprise against Urbino, so much resisted by his brother, and so ardently desired by his nephew; and he hesitated the more, because he discovered that the king of France had consented against his inclination. Giuliano was so ill, that he could not, but by his agents and letters, censure the project to the pope, and Lorenzo by his assiduous solicitations held the king well disposed to his inclinations, and was continually about the pope with persuasions to undertake it. The interview between the pope and the king at Bologna being finished, the former returned to Florence, apparently resolved to give satisfaction to his nephew: yet he proceeded to take measures for the enterprise, on account of Giuliano, with some circumspection. But the disorder of Giuliano increasing, he died at Badia de Fiesole, where he resided for the benefit of better air, in March 1516. A few days after the pope left Florence, and returned to Rome.

1516.

Lorenzo

Lorenzo now remained, without any contradiction, heir in all things of the state, the fortune, and the grandeur of the house of Medici; and being now more than ever warm in his desire to be made duke of Urbino \*, he was invested by the pope in consistory: Lorenzo was put in command of an army, composed of the soldiers and subjects of the church and the Florentines; and the pope deprived † Francesco Maria of these dominions by solemn sentence, and gave the investiture of the duchy of Urbino, in a consistory, to Lorenzo his nephew, all the cardinals setting their hands to the bull.

1517. In the year 1517 certain cardinals formed a conspiracy against the pope, and the cardinal Soderini was found among the guilty; but upon confession of their error, the pope excused them with great humanity: but upon this occasion, in order to fill up the college, he made a new promotion of cardinals, among whom were his two nephews of the Salviati and Ridolfi families. At this time the citizens of the state of Florence were in secret very discontented, because that the duke Lorenzo, desiring to reduce the government to the form of a principality, appeared to disdain to consult any longer with the magistrates and his fellow citizens as he used to do, and gave very seldom audiences, and with much impatience; attended less to the business of the city, and caused all public affairs to be managed by Messer Goro da Pistoia, his secretary, who, either following the inclination of his own nature, or because the duke had given him such orders concerning what he ought to do, governed in such a manner, and conducted so with the citizens, that there appeared

\* Nerli, p. 130.

† Guicchiardin, lib. ix.

in him more grandeur, and more of the qualities of a prince, and he made himself more honoured than any one of the house of Medici ever had done in the sixty years that had passed between 1434 and 1494 : and the citizens, who had borne so much envy against Galleatto de Medici, found, in the example of Goro, reason to acknowledge and repent of their error ; for Galleatto, who held from the duke Lorenzo the same authority, and the same employment, before Goro, and was besides of the family of Medici, did the public business of the palace, and went in person to confer with the citizens, and was satisfied with civilly serving his patron, and with being more in reality and less in appearance. Lorenzo now made a journey to France, having made an alliance with the king. In 1518 he returned with his lady, and the marriage was celebrated with much pomp, rejoicings\*, and festivity. Many citizens at this time, having discovered the inclination of the duke, and that he was determined to reduce the state to the form of a principality, would not consent to it. Some withdrew themselves from public affairs, despairing of the commonwealth ; others confined themselves to their houses, under pretence of sickness ; but others, having more courage and better support, went to Rome, under the protection of the pope ; and the duke, to make the last effort to dispose the pope to reduce the state of Florence to a principality, went to finish his nuptials at Rome, and carried with him Vettori and Strozzi, in whom he confided, and with whom he often consulted ; and after many intrigues with

1518.

\* Si fecero le nozze fontuosissime, con molta pompa, allegrezza, e festa grandissima. Nerli, p. 131.

the



1519. the pope, they returned to Florence, determined to reform the state. But in 1519 he died, about ten days after his wife, who however had left him a daughter, who was afterwards queen of France. Goro, and the citizens in his confidence, had ordered secretly the piazza to be fortified, and the guards doubled, and had caused to be assembled in Florence, from various places of the dominion, a good number of their friends and confidential partisans, to assist, as occasion might happen, in the preservation of the public security, and in observing the conduct of those citizens who had given any cause of suspicion; and Antonio di Bettino da Ricosoli was imborsoed gonfalonier. The cardinal de Medici, who arrived two days before the death of the duke, being sent by the pope to give orders, regulated all things to general satisfaction\*. After the funeral of the duke, the cardinal entered into intimate consultations with the principal citizens, and having re-established the government, according to the form and order which the pope had given to duke Lorenzo; and the cardinal remained, by order of the pope, in the government, to give further satisfaction to the citizens, whom he knew to be disgusted with the proceedings of Goro in the life-time of the duke, and the great authority he had assumed, perhaps greater than the duke had given him; and reduced the business of the magistrates, elections, customs of office, and the mode of expenditure of the public money, in such a manner, that there appeared a very great and universal joy among the citizens, and there remained to the cardinal

\* Nerli, lib. vii. p. 133.

no other or greater difficulties, than the usual divisions among the citizens of the state; some of whom contended for enlarging, and others for restraining the elections of magistrates: wherefore, those who wished the state more contracted, at the head of whom was Ridolfi, opposed themselves to Salviati, who, by order of the pope, was returned to Florence with the cardinal, and he, for contrary reasons, was opposed to them; and because the cardinal went on, amusing sometimes one, and sometimes the other party, and supporting both, their divisions were much more apparent at this time, and the heads of each discovered themselves with less dissimulation than they had done in the life-time of the duke: indeed the dissensions of the citizens arose in all important affairs which the cardinal had to provide for, or to think of, in his government; whereas in the other, in the most important affairs they followed that which was ordered daily by the pope without any difficulty. The cardinal seems to have diverted the factions from any effectual opposition to his government, by playing them one against the other, and fomenting their mutual animosities: for his government was very successful and frugal, and money was saved in it to pay off the public debts. But the war soon followed, of the pope Leo the Tenth, and Charles the Fifth, who had lately succeeded Maximilian in the empire, against the French. The cardinal was sent with his army, as apostolical legate, and went into Lombardy, leaving in his place, in the government of Florence, the cardinal di Cortona. The affairs of the pope and emperor succeeded prosperously against the French, who lost Milan: but the pope, on the last of November 1521, died, and finished, in the midst of so much grandeur,

1521.

the legitimate succession of the house of Medici, and the male line of the first Cosmo ; who by a public decree was called the father of his country, and who, in 1434, had given rise to the greatness of his family.

After the death of the pope, the cardinal suddenly departed from Milan, and returned to Florence, where he found that the signori had given good orders for the conservation of the state, and that Francesco Vettori, who was gonfalonier of justice, the cardinal di Cortona, and the principal citizens in the government, had made every provision, and taken every precaution which occurred for the benefit and safety of the state ; and he found too, on so great an occasion, of a sudden and unexpected death of the pope, a ready inclination in all the principal citizens, and an universal desire among the people, to maintain the state in the hands of the cardinal de Medici : and all this felicity arose from his good government, which, since the death of the duke Lorenzo, had been so universally agreeable. Consulting now with the principal citizens, orders were given for defence in the war which Renzo da Ceri, by the favour of the French, had excited in Siena, with a view to change the government in Florence.

This war was fomented by the cardinal Soderini, and occasioned a fresh declaration against his family, that they were rebels, and involved them in greater calamities than they had suffered in 1512. During this war many citizens began to speak, without reserve, of a more liberal manner of living, and a new reform of the government, and reported publicly, that the cardinal, for want of relations and a legitimate succession in his family, would be willing in a certain manner to  
dispose

dispose of the authority of the *balia*, and leave the government freely in the people, with a certain authority reserved to a senate for life, to consist of the best citizens, and reserving to himself a certain authority and *balia* in some things during his life: and when the principal and most suspected persons in this war were secured, although an army was still in Siena, these discourses continued and increased. Many were so eager, and so drawn away by their wills and their love of novelty, that they began too soon to descend to particulars concerning the manner of reforming the government, which they believed and said ought to be undertaken; and they proposed the mode of electing the gonfalonier of justice, and some of them would have him for life, as he had been when Sodorini was elected in 1502, and others desired he might be elected annually, as Ridolfi was in 1512. Such was the zeal of many, deceived by their credulity and the ardent passions which transported them, that they began to speak more freely of the person to be elected, and Acciaïoli and Vettori were named, and Gondi; but all agreed at last, the better to conciliate the cardinal, to leave for the first time the election wholly to him. These practices went so far, that the citizens began to be publicly named and discriminated, who were in favour of the reformation of the government, and who were against it. That party of the citizens who had counselled the cardinal to a large and comprehensive distribution of honours, and who had ever taken the protection of the generality, appeared, upon these conversations of a reform, to give some attention to it; and that party which desired to hold the public offices and honours in fewer families, detested and censured those who talked of any reformation

at all; and the generality of the citizens stood neutral, expecting, however, with great desire, that the reform would take place; and one class of young men, and especially those who had concurred in the rise of Rucellai, solicited it, and discovered themselves. In this manner was the whole city divided and confounded; the greater part of the citizens agitated, some with hopes and others with fears; and many ventured so far as to write various models for such a reformation, even in the presence of the cardinal: and among these sufficiently distinguished themselves Zanobi Buondelmonti and Nicholas Machiavel; and Nerli says he saw these writings, which were communicated to him by the authors at the time of these intrigues. They were also communicated to the cardinal, who pretended to hold them in high esteem\*. Alexander de Pazzi composed a most elegant and beautiful oration, in the name of the people of Florence, in praise of the cardinal, for the restoration of the commonwealth; which Nerli remembers to have heard recited before a large company at a supper, where, having obtained a copy, he sent it to Rome to the cardinal Salviati. These speculations proceeded so far, and were so freely discoursed on, and in so many ways, that it began to appear to the cardinal that he had permitted them to run too far; and he thought of means to restrain them, but found, things had gone so much beyond his intentions, some difficulty to resist their course. But fortune presented him a convenient opportunity, which was this: There had been formed, at the

\* E tutti, suoi scritti andavano in mano del cardinale, che mostrava di tenerne conto, e di farne capitale grandissimo. Nerli, lib. vii. p. 137.

time of the rise of Rucellai, a certain school of young men of letters, and of elevated genius, among whom was Cosmo Rucellai, who died very young, though he had excited great expectations among the literati. This society was much frequented by Nicholas Machiavel; and Nerli says he was a most intimate friend of Machiavel, and had frequent conversations in this club\*. These gentlemen not only amused themselves, but made a business and duty of exercising themselves in the study of history, and in making observations and reflections upon it. At their request Machiavel composed his discourses upon Livy, and his treatise of military matters. These persons went on, thinking, by an imitation of the ancients, to effect something that should be grand and noble, and render them illustrious. At length they wrought themselves up to the thoughts of a conspiracy against the cardinal, and did not well consider what Machiavel in his discourses had written to them on the subject of conspiracies; if they had well considered his reflections, they would either not have engaged in the design, or, if they had, would have proceeded in it with greater caution. The heads of this plot were Zanobi Buondelmonti and Luigi Allamanni. Their intention was to assassinate the cardinal de Medici, and thus reduce the city to a free government, and restore liberty to the people, as they enjoyed it before 1512. And after the death of Leo the Tenth, they sent Batista della Palla, who was in the conspiracy with them, to cardinal Sodorini, in order to inform him of their indignation against the cardinal, and to persuade him, as an exile and an enemy of the Medici, to make, with Renzo da Ceri and the

\* Guicchiardin, lib. ix.



- family of the Sodorini, such provisions as they should judge proper to conduct their designs, and to obtain intelligence of the progress of this war. But the enterprise not succeeding with signior Renzo as was expected, the plot was first suspected, and at length, by degrees, discovered by the cardinal; and the principal persons engaged in it were obliged to fly, and were declared rebels, particularly Buondelmonti, Allamanni, Palla, Bruciolli; and others were apprehended and beheaded; by which means the cardinal was again secured in the enjoyment of his government, as well as his life, and an end was put to all the vain designs and idle discourses of a free government.
1522. In 1522 the cardinal contrived an interview at Leghorn, and at Florence, with Adrian the pope; in consequence of which cardinal Sodorini was imprisoned in the castle at Rome, and prevented from fomenting further designs against the Medici, and the cardinal de Medici became a great favourite with the pope and the emperor. Having adjusted with the pope all his affairs, the cardinal gave orders, that Ipolito, a natural son of the duke Giuliano, and Alexander, a natural son of the duke Lorenzo, should be committed to the care of Rocco Ridolfi and Giovanni Corsi, that he might avail himself of them, in time, to maintain the reputation and authority of the state in the house of Medici, in the succession of the first Cosmo, who was called the father of his country, in the best manner that he could, being determined to exclude the other branch in the descendants of his brother Lorenzo. He proceeded, however, in this deliberation with much caution and reserve, pretending to doubt of the brains as well as heart of Giovanni de Medici, of whom in truth he was jealous; for instead of meriting the contempt

contempt of the cardinal, he had a liberality and a greatness of soul, which enabled him to acquire the highest fame in the military art, which he had pursued from his tender years: in short, according to Nerli, who knew him, he was possessed of every virtue and quality of a great prince.

In September 1523 pope Adrian died; and, after a long contest, in which the cardinals were two months in the conclave, on the 19th of November the cardinal de Medici was created pope, and assumed the name of Clement the Seventh, and thus united the sovereign authority, which he held in Florence, to the extensive power of the church; upon which happy election, as it was called, there were great external signs of joy in Florence, in the fervor of which an event happened remarkable enough to be related:—In the vacancy of the pontificate many wagers had been laid concerning the new election; among many who lost was Peter Orlandini, who being too importunately solicited by the winner to pay, answered in great wrath, that he would not pay, until it was determined whether the election had been made canonically or not. These words were reported to the magistrates, and, after the importance of them had been considered by the cabal, Peter was summoned by the eight of the balia, and upon his appearance was seized, and beheaded in a few hours.—Soon after the creation of the pope, the Sodorini were restored to their country, because, although at first their cardinal in conclave had been zealous against the Medici, his friends, and particularly the cardinal Colonna, had laboured to reconcile him, and succeeded so far, that his nephews were restored, and he remained afterwards in the good graces of his holiness. Palla Ruccellai, with nine others, were sent ambassadors

dors to render the usual homage to the new pope. With these ambassadors the pope intrigued, as he could no longer govern in Florence, to have one of the two young natural sons sent to govern the city. Some among the ambassadors, and other Florentines then at Rome, were inclined; others were timorous in disclosing their opinions; and some of them having notice of the secret, and of the will of the pope, and all of them well knowing that the pope had determined, in order to satisfy him, and constrained by necessity rather than swayed by any reason or inclination, requested of his holiness one of the young men to govern the state of Florence. The pope sends Hippolito, the son of the duke Giuliano, under the guardianship of the cardinal di Cortona, because he was yet too young for so great a government; and Ottaviano de Medici had the care of the family affairs, and the controul of the house and family of the Magnificent Hippolito, as he was called, and as his father had been intitled at the time of their exile, and when he had the title of duke of Nemours. Ottaviano was also to take the care of Alexander, the son of the duke Lorenzo. In this manner were disposed all things relative to the state of Florence and the house of Medici; and thus they remained for four years, until 1527, when a general scrutiny was made, which was very extensive, and therefore made with much universal satisfaction.

1524. In 1524 a civil war broke out in Pistoia, between the parties called Panciatiche and Cancelliere, and the party Panciatiche prevailing, expelled and banished, as usual, their adversaries, and every thing was there soon settled. The pope did not much interfere in the war in Lombardy, between Charles and Francis, which followed that memorable

nable defeat of the French before Pavia, when the king was taken prisoner, and conducted to Spain by the emperor. In this tranquillity of foreign affairs, the cardinal di Cortona had, however, enough to do to cement his government, amidst all their discontents, and his own ungrateful manner of treating the citizens; for the best friends, as well as others, did not find in the government of the pope that which had been promised, nor those conditions and qualities of profit and honour which they relished so much in his mode of proceeding and government while he was cardinal: nor could the cardinal di Cortona perceive, until in 1527 it became very manifest, how much it imported to the benefit of the state, and the house of Medici, that he should study the character of the citizens, and the principles and motives of their divisions and dissensions; especially after the party, the most decided in favour of the Medici, and of consequence the most odious to the generality, had been uncommonly weakened by the death of Allemanni, Corbinelli, Serristori, and some others, the most warm in their party, and the most jealous of any opposition to the present government. After them too Ridolfi died; but he, before his death, by an intermarriage with the Strozzi, had been somewhat cooled, and dreaded less than formerly a change. The other party, on the contrary, were much exalted in their hopes and confidence, as they had increased in reputation with the Strozzi, Capponi, and Guicchiardini, who, by their great quality and riches, drew after them a strong band of honourable citizens: with these concurred Vettori, being a relation of Capponi, and an intimate friend of Philip Strozzi; and as to the Salviati, although Jacobo was shut up in Rome, there remained in Florence the sons  
of

of Alamanno, Averardo, and Piero, the cousins of Capponi and Francesco Guicchiardini, and the relations of Matteo Strozzi. Having accumulated so much favour, so great abilities, such credit, and so many intimate connections, this party began to be as bold as they were active and powerful; and Niccolo Capponi went on with the greatest reputation increasing it, discovered upon all occasions such popular principles and feelings, and had acquired so much popular benevolence, that those who were desirous of innovation, and a more liberal government, appeared to have found a sufficient support, whenever a proper opportunity should occur of changing the government. These causes, however, produced no effect while the affairs of the war between the grand princes stood in suspense, and unaltered, as they did during the time that the king was prisoner to the emperor in Spain: but after the king had ransomed himself, and recovered his liberty and his kingdom, being more determined than ever in his perpetual desire of recovering the state of Milan, and as it appeared to him, although he had left his sons as hostages in the hands of the emperor, that the conditions of the convention for his liberation were too hard to be observed, not being able to compose his mind, being at all hazards determined to renew the war, and having found the princes of Italy in the same disposition, he agreed with the pope and Venetians, and made with them a league against the emperor, in which the pope would have the Florentines named and comprehended. This league commenced the war in Lombardy; and in the army of the church, and for the pope, in place of a legate, and with the title of locum tenens of the holy see, was Francesco Guicchiardini; and the comte Guido Rangoni,



goni, then governor of the people of the church, had the general government of the ecclesiastical state; and Giovanni de Medici had the command of the infantry of that part abroad which was commanded by comte Guido; and there occurred in this war, between Giovanni and Guido, many dissensions: and with the king, in his camp, was the marquis de Saluzzo; and for the Venetians, the duke of Urbino. This war began about the year 1526 \*. The imperial generals, to divert the pope from the war of Lombardy, invaded Rome itself, took the bourg of St. Peter, and plundered the palace of the pope himself; who, being besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, was constrained to make a convention to his disadvantage, to send Philip Strozzi to Naples as a hostage for the security of the treaty, which, among other conditions, contained a certain suspension of arms. But all this success of the imperialists could not move the pope from the war. The league sent Giovanni de Medici to the relief of Rome; but he was killed in a skirmish, which relieved the pope from his jealousy, though it exposed his capital to ruin. After the death of Giovanni, those citizens of Florence who desired an alteration in the government began to take courage, and discover their intentions. They proceeded to sound all the citizens whom they thought proper, encouraging them to the enterprise; and at the same time began the younger nobility to desire the same with those citizens who had encouraged and counselled them, and to demand of the signori and the public, arms, covering their request under a colour of wishing by such means to be able to serve and

\* Nerli, lib. vii. p. 144.



defend their country in so great and imminent a danger as appeared in the approach of a large hostile army. They desired to be armed on no other account, and for no other end, than merely for the benefit and defence of the city. Veiled under such colours, these youths were countenanced by all that party of citizens who desired to enlarge the government, and had taken upon themselves the universal protection of the people. But these young men entered principally into an intimate connection with Nicholas Capponi, with whom concurred all the other citizens who desired to enlarge the government; and therefore, in the council, in the magistracy, and in all things, these youths were the favourites of Capponi, Strozzi, and Louis Guicchiardini, and they took such courage as to consult with them in secret. Cardinal di Cortona being, as he commonly was, very slow in resolving, was ill qualified to put a stop to this secret intelligence, especially as he was obliged to wait for instructions from Rome for every measure of his conduct. The divisions among the citizens made him still more timid, which was the reason that the spirits of these youths grew bolder every day. The pope sent Gherardo Corsini to Florence to alter the fortifications of the city; but this measure was very unpopular. The news of the death of Giovanni de Medici threw the city into the utmost consternation; and all these circumstances aided the young men in their design.

The people universally, the citizens, and the young noblemen, were all become very licentious in speech, very free and bold in expressing their conceits, and became very tumultuous and disorderly, in armed parties in the streets, in the night, affronting the guards and disturbing the citizens  
with

with impunity. At this time the pope sent cardinal Cibo and Ridolfi to assist cardinal Cortona; but this had little effect.

In 1527 the French army began to turn their march towards Tuscany, the suspected in Florence began to increase, and the youth became more systematical and ardent than ever in their desire to be armed; which they now demanded with greater confidence, as Louis Guicchiardin was appointed gonfalonier. Cortona assembled in council many citizens, to consult upon things of such consequence. Nicholas Capponi began in council with great eloquence, and without reserve, to say, that in treating of things of this importance, which concerned the safety of all, it was reasonable to hold the consultations in the palace, among a larger number of the citizens, that every one might more freely express his sentiments. Gherardo Corsini spoke in opposition to Capponi with spirit in favour of the state: and while the principal citizens were engaged in these altercations, the two armies were approaching the city. The cardinal and the Magnificent Hippolito intended to ride out to the heads of the league, and to Guicchiardin, the pope's lieutenant, to concert measures for securing the affairs of Florence in their present critical situation. There were in the piazza many circles of young men, who anxiously waited for disturbances; and in the house of Peter Salviati was a great rabble of those who, a little time before, had been concerned in those nocturnal tumults which had been excited; the servants of the guard of the lieutenant of police; and within, with the gonfalonier, were those chiefs, who at first, with more order and better counsel, had always managed those intrigues which were called the petitions for

for arms ; and already in the palace were Niccolas Capponi, Mathew Strozzi, and Francis Vettori, to countenance the youths, and contrive that whatever might happen might follow in some order. But fortune, who had otherwise determined, caused to be spread an idle and false report, that the cardinal and Hippolito were gone, and had abandoned the state, as not knowing how to maintain it any longer ; and as these reports prevailed, there suddenly arose in the piazza a confused rumour, and they bawled out the name of Liberty ! the People ! and the palace on a sudden was filled with citizens, youths, arms, and confusion ; and many began, as if they had already conquered, to lay hands on the signori ; and those citizens were threatened who did not say and do as this disorderly multitude desired. The more prudent sort of persons, elder and younger, endeavoured to preserve some order, and proposed various judicious plans ; but the uproar was too great, and violence had got possession. The detail of the errors and disorders is too long to be recited ; but nothing would content them short of a declaration that the Medici were rebels, and the signori were compelled to this measure. Even Niccolas Capponi, and his colleagues, who were present amidst such disorders in the palace, repented of the fallacy they had practised that day, and perceived that states, which attempt to change the foundations of their government by means of popular tumults, though they may sometimes easily effect the alteration, will always find it difficult either to stop or to regulate the movements of the people, of which important truth the history of Florence is full of fatal examples. The cardinal and Hippolito, receiving intelligence of the tumults in Florence, returned

returned with Francis Guicchiardin, and some other respectable characters, and a military force; made an accommodation with the rioters, and restored the government of the Medici; made a new imbursement of the signori, and imbursemented as gonfalonier, in 1527, Francescantonio Nori, and changed some of the signori for persons less suspected, and took every prudent measure to secure the peace of the city. But such was the danger, that many absented themselves from the city through fear, not believing that the pope would pardon their behaviour. The city was in great confusion, suspicion, and dissatisfaction: at this time the army turned towards Rome, which on the 6th of May 1527 was sacked by the French in their turn, and the pope was again shut up a prisoner in the castle. Philip Strozzi flew to Florence with the news of the ruin of the pope, and began to promote a change in the government; and his lady, Clarissa \*, the daughter of Peter de Medici, sister of the duke Lorenzo, very gravely and boldly said to the cardinal Cortona and Hippolito, that they ought to fly from Florence, and leave the city and republic free to the citizens.

\* See her speech at length in Segni, p. 8. Bisognava prima, che in tali termini si facciano condotte le cose, governarsi co' cittadini di maniera, che ne' pericoli, e nelle strettezze vostre vi si avessero a mantenere amici, e in fede, siccome ne' passati tempi si governarono gli antichi miei, che colla gentilezza, e colla benevolenza più che coll' asprezza, e col timore, si mantenevano fedeli gli animi de' cittadini Fiorentini, e poi in molti loro avversi tempi gli ritrovarono costanti; ma voi, che coll' usanze del viver vostro avete, ancora a chi nol sapesse, scoperto i vostri natali, e fatto chiaro a tutto 'l mondo, che non siete del sangue de Medici (a non pure di voi intendo, ma ancora di Clemente indegnamente papa, e degnamente prigioniero) che vi maravigliate voi, se sete oggi in questi travagli, ne' quali avete tutta questa città contraria alla vostra grandezza?

Upon

Upon this return of Strozzi, and in this ruin of the pope, Niccolas Capponi, Mathew Strozzi, and Francis Vettori, and all that party of citizens who had been humbled by the disorders of the 26th of April, and the other party, who were in the confidence and league of the Medici, seeing the pope ruined and a prisoner, and no hope of assistance, gave way to fortune; some through fear, and others from hopes which were held out to them by those citizens who desired a change in the state, and the ruin of the Medici. Cardinal Cortona, finding himself in such affliction, and without any assignment of money, because Philip Strozzi, who was at that time depository of the signori, sent out of Florence Francesco del Nero, his deputy, with all the money which had been collected, a movement which was the most artful check in the whole game, made a certain capitulation between the city and the Medici, and went out of Florence with cardinal Cibo and the Magnificent Hippolito, on the 17th of May 1527, without being banished, and having the signori still in their favour, who stood firm to the government and the house of Medici to the last. After their departure the capitulation was not observed, and cardinal Ridolfi, who remained in Florence, was constrained to depart: and in a short time a popular government was introduced, so large and licentious, that Philip Strozzi, and all those citizens who had such an inclination to the change, and who were the heads and chiefs of the plan of restoring the state to the people, were soon treated in such an injurious manner, and in so many ways insulted, that those who incline to weep over the follies and vices of their fellow men, will have incitements enough for their tears in reading the story. The history of Segni, which was intended  
to



to record the transactions of the republic or popular state from 1527 to 1530, begins with the eighth book of Nerli, and contains a circumstantial relation of every particular; and this same Segni has written the life of his uncle Niccolo Capponi. Varchi too begins his history about the same time: so that this period is well described by a variety of historians.

After the resolution taken by the cardinal di Cortona, and the principal citizens in the government, to resign the authority of the balia, and to leave the state, by agreement, liberally in the hands of the people, the balia assembled on the 16th of May 1527, and the provision, by which liberty was restored to the people, and the government wholly conferred upon them, by the total annihilation of the balia, was received with great joy. But that, in so great a revolution, they might proceed without scandal, and that they might ordain a government, free, pacific, and quiet, as, perhaps, those citizens had flattered themselves they might do who were the principal authors of the change, and had been so zealous for it, although very different effects followed, as it generally happens to those who place themselves at the head of the people, and are the instruments of changing a government; they began by giving order and form to the government, that is, by taking the power into their own hands, instead of giving it up to the people: they gave authority to the signori, the colleges, and the council of seventy, and to the members of the balia, to make, as well as they could, a deputation of thirty citizens for each quarter, giving a convenient share to the minor arts, according to the classes at that time in the city; and they ordered that such deputation should be made by ballot, among the signori, council,

1527.



magistrates, and the thirty for the quarters, who thus ballotted for by the greatest popular favour, or, in other words, who had the most black votes, should be understood to be elected; to which number of one hundred and twenty citizens, together with the said magistrates and counsellors, should be given full authority to elect all officers, meaning such as had been usually made by the council of an hundred, until the 20th of June. All other officers were to be drawn from the ordinary purses till the same 20th of June; after which day it was determined that the council of the people, called the greater \* council, should commence its authority: this greater council was determined to have the same authority, modes, orders, and forms, which it had before 1312, but with certain limitations and corrections. The new council of signori collegi were to be 120, the supernumeraries seventy, and the balia of twenty, to whom were given authority concerning the mode of making the new gonfalonier, and the council of eighty was revived in the same form as before 1512: then, in the abundance of their gratitude to the Medici, for permitting the popular government to be revived, they passed an indemnity to them and all their agents, and forgave Hippolito, Alexander, and the duchess's daughter of Lorenzo late duke of Urbino. At last the old balia was annulled; but the new government had scarcely assembled, before fresh dissensions arose†: some would not observe at all the laws made as now related, especially relative to the

\* Consiglio maggiore.

† Dopo questi ordini così datè, cominciarono molti cittadini a dividersi in molti modi, e si scoperfero molte varie sette, et molte varie seditioni. Nerli, lib. viii. p. 155.

greater council; but many, without waiting for the term prescribed, would begin by assembling this council; and acting in it; and some were even for beginning tumultuously, and without waiting for any limitations or corrections, and without regarding this law in any degree. Many others were for removing before the time the signori by force, though, by the law, they were to continue the month of June; and because the provision or law made by the *balia* for restoring peaceably the state to the people was not observed, as indeed it was not, and because the concession and promise made by the Medici was not strictly regarded, it was given out that they were returning with force to recover the state which they had voluntarily quitted, and which was not taken from them by force, as many had vainly endeavoured a few days before, and many false rumours were created, propagated, and exaggerated, to terrify and confound the contending parties. These at last divided themselves into two principal factions: the Strozzi, Sodorini, &c. were the heads of one, and Niccolo Capponi of the other. They had a long struggle to make the gonfalonier resign, and get possession of the palace. The greater council was brought into being and action before the time, and many other alterations were made about the choice of magistrates; but a tumult in the palace, with all the persuasions of Capponi, was at last sufficient to prevail upon the gonfalonier to resign. A new gonfalonier is now to be chosen, and new regulations are contrived for the election, and, among a multitude of candidates, Niccolo Capponi is chosen.

Niccolo Capponi had great qualities; but these alone were not the cause of his elevation: it was indeed the secret influence of the Medici interest

which decided the election in his favour. This was a very memorable example of electioneering, and resembles in so many of its outlines all other elections in general, that it enters into the essence of every government in one centre, and is very interesting to every free citizen to consider it attentively. Sixty electors were drawn out of the purse of the grand council, each of whom was to nominate a citizen of fifty years of age; and among these sixty were to be ballotted for, in the greater council, six candidates for the office of gonfalonier. The six who upon this occasion had the most votes, were Carducci, Sodorini, A. Strozzi, Nero, Bartolini, and Niccolo Capponi. Each of these candidates had his distinct principles, system, and party. For Carducci were all that part of the citizens who most dreaded and hated the Medici, who wished for a licentious government, by means of which they could be revenged, by beating down every citizen who, under the government of the Medici, had any reputation, influence, or power. In Strozzi concurred a part of the same citizens, for the same reasons, but their ardor for him was cooled by the recollection of the part he had formerly acted against Savanarola in 1498. In Sodorini concurred all those citizens who loved a government both free and quiet, such as that which prevailed from 1502 to 1512, when Peter Sodorini was gonfalonier for life. The party of Medici were united to a man against him; with all other parties he was upon tolerable terms: and this is not only natural, but it is universally found in experience, that the monarchical party is most averse, in such conjunctures, to the aristocratical, and generally coalesces with the democratical, as these did upon this occasion in the choice of Capponi. The  
partisans

partisans of Nero and Bartolini were those only who hated all men who had ever held any place in government, and wished for such as were entirely new. Amidst so many competitors, and such a variety of parties and views, Capponi was elected, though he had held offices of high trust and confidence under the Medici. He had in the whole course of his life, public and private, been a wise, liberal, and irreproachable citizen; the reputation of his father and his ancestors had early rendered him illustrious: he had as much resolution as he had ambition, and had maintained the character of an honest man with all; that of a free republican with the popular party, and that of a man of honour and fidelity with the Medici themselves, who unanimously fell in with his views in the election; *Naturam expellas furca, licet usque recurret.* The dominant party will, in general, in this manner prevail, though their leaders are in banishment, and even though excluded by law. Capponi had married a daughter of Philip Strozzi, and this union of their families, and even the diversity of their characters \*, had contributed to increase the influence of the former. After the election of the gonfalonier,

\* L'integrità della vita, la temperanza, la severità, la parsimonia in allevare la famiglia serono risplendere Niccolò sopra d'ogni' altro per dignità, e per un vivo esempio di virtù: quando in Filippo un modo di vivere sciolto, l'incontinenza, la piacevolezza, la grazia, la destrezza nel trattare gli uomini, la liberalità, la licenza, la concessione di se stesso fatta ora alla virtù, ora al vizio, ebbe forza di farlo amar sempre dalla gioventù, riverire dalla nobiltà, e accarezzare dal popolo, di tal maniera, che sebbene viveva in privata fortuna, era nondimeno come un principe. Varchi, lib. iii. p. 63. Segni Storie, lib. i. p. 12. Vita di Niccolò Capponi, p. 2.

they proceeded to the choice of the signori for three months. Thus the party of Capponi carried their point, and accomplished all this weighty business by the first of June, against the regulation that the old signori should continue through the month.—One of the first steps taken under the new government, was an appointment, by a plurality of votes in the greater council, of five citizens, under the title of syndics of the commons, to examine the accounts of all those who had handled the public money, or other property, from the year 1512. This was an invention of revenge and jealousy, to destroy all the friends and instruments of the Medici: and many other schemes of persecution against the party of Medici were contrived without the smallest discretion, and in spite of all the endeavours of Capponi and Philip Strozzi to prevent them. Among other schemes of persecution, the most tyrannical imaginable, which this dominant party, now triumphant, practised against the minor party, was, at a time when a sum of money (30,000 crowns) was wanted by the public, they made a law, that twenty citizens should be *elected*, who should be compelled to lend the public fifteen thousand crowns each. Such is the sense of liberty, and the sacred regard to property, in a government in one centre! This popular tyranny was carried to an excess so intolerable, that Philip Strozzi, the very father of the revolution, was obliged to fly to Naples, though his brother-in-law was gonfalonier: but returning some time after with Buondelmoniti, they were both imprisoned for four years in the tower of Volterra, for making opposition to the new iniquitous taxes, and the administration of the syndics. Acciaiuoli



roo, who was then returned from his embassy in France, was imprisoned for being in arrear for part of a subsidy, which they had imposed upon him, not only without equity, but beyond his ability. The gonfalonier could make no resistance to this popular fury, which had now got the ascendant; the great council, and their three months men the signori, governed without controul; and because they could not glut their vengeance upon the persons of the Medici, they took the images in wax of the popes Leo the Tenth, and Clement the Seventh, and scourged and destroyed them; and the magistrates themselves were supposed to have excited the youths who were guilty of this outrage, so indecent in a catholic city; at least no measures were taken to suppress or to punish the rioters. An order was given by the magistrates, the eight of the balia, that the arms and ensigns of the Medici should be taken down in every place in the city and country, public and private, even in the private houses of the family, even from the monuments over their tombs. All this was done, and many other invasions of their private property committed, in direct contempt of the capitulation made with cardinal Cortona and the Magnificent Hippolito, when they resigned the authority of their balia, and voluntarily left the state to the people. It is astonishing that the people themselves should not have recollected, that this courage had come into their hearts only from the present calamity of the pope, which might soon be at an end, and themselves made to feel the consequences of their present folly; but in such a tumult of popular passions there is never any reflection, prudence, or foresight. All these things happened in the first months of the new government, while the pope was in the power of



the imperialists, a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The plague was now in Florence, and it was difficult to assemble the councils, especially the greater council; a law was therefore made, that for the creation of officers, and the expedition of private petitions, the number of the greater council necessary to be present should be only four hundred; but for the creation of the signori, the colleges, the ten of war, and the eight of the balia, the number of eight hundred must be full, as well as at the passing of new laws, and the imposition of new taxes.

In December the pope accommodated his affairs with the emperor, obtained his liberty, and retired to Orvieto for his greater security. This event increased the number of opponents to the present government in Florence, and brought again into reputation those who had enjoyed it under the Medici. Two factions now broke out in the city. The rivals of Capponi began to raise their heads; and endeavoured to render unpopular not only the friends of the Medici, but Capponi, and all those who had endeavoured to unite all parties for the general tranquillity. Carducci, A. Strozzi, and Sodorini, now formed a triumvirate, at the head of one faction, against Capponi and his adherents; and the young men and more active partisans of each side armed themselves, both under the pretence of defending the palace. This guard, thus composed of two parties, could not be united, and gave much trouble to the gonfalonier. The pope at this time made Hippolito a cardinal. A satirical libel was composed, printed at Siena, and scattered all over Florence, in which a picture was drawn of such a gonfalonier as would be suitable to the present conjuncture; but it was in all things

things opposite to the character of Capponi, and very much resembled Carducci. This device excited much licentious conversation in the city against Capponi, and many projects of a new gonfalonier at the approaching election. These canvassings drove Capponi to a curious expedient to obtain his election. He had always maintained a good character with the friends of Savanarola the prophet, and in this time of the plague all men were seriously inclined, and the superstitious began again to be frantic. Niccolo took an opportunity, in the greater council, to make an oration upon the times, in which, by the aid of a retentive memory, he repeated, almost word by word, one of the most terrible sermons of Savanarola, which predicted so many scourges to Italy and to Florence, and, after so much destruction, such felicity to the Florentine people; and endeavoured to shew, that the times thus predicted were arrived. In the course of his harangue he wrought himself up to a fervor of enthusiasm, fell upon his knees before the whole assembly, and cried with a loud voice to God Almighty for mercy. His enthusiasm spread like a contagion, and the whole assembly fell upon their knees after his example, and cried out with a voice like thunder, "*Miseracordia!*" as they had been used sometimes to do when attending some of the most dreadful of Savanarola's lectures; and to complete his artifice, or his frenzy, he persuaded the people, in commemoration of the tribulations, chastisements, and judgments of God, and the better to secure the felicity promised by Savanarola, that they ought to elect, for the peculiar king of the people of Florence, Jesus the Redeemer, and, as Savanarola had said in some of his sermons, that they ought to bear the ensigns  
of

of Christ, and the glorious name of Jesus, over the gates of the palace. The proposition was made in council, as soon as the gonfalonier had finished his oration, that Christ should be their king, because, according to St. Paul, God had constituted him heir of all things; and Nerli, who says he was present among so many hundreds of citizens, declares, that there were not more than twenty \* white beans, or votes, against the proposition, when it was determined by ballot. Capponi, by this proceeding, made such an impression upon all orders, and gained so many partisans, that, notwithstanding all the combinations of the families of his competitors, he carried his election in June 1528.

1528. In 1528 began to be discovered, for they were no longer capable of dissimulation, the pope's profound projects †, hitherto concealed with great art. An ardent desire of restoring to his family their grandeur in Florence was deeply rankling in his mind; yet, by an hypocrisy, too natural to that as well as every other kind of ambition, he endeavoured, by public declarations, in the most unequivocal terms to persuade the Florentines that nothing was further from his thoughts; that he only desired the republic to acknowledge him as pontiff, as all other princes and sovereigns had done, and that they would not persecute

\* Ultimamente fece passare una provvisione, nel consiglio grande, sopra di tutte l'altre notabilissima in questo genere di pietà, per la quale fu eletto Gesù Christo signor nostro per re della città nostra, con tutti i suffrage di quel popolo, eccetto che di 26, che tal decreto non approvarono. Era 'l titolo di questa legge scritto sopra la porta del palazzo de signori, in lettere d'oro, che dicevano G. H. S. X. P. S. Rex populi Flor. S. P. Q. F. Consensu declaratus anno, mense die. Varchi, p. 122. Signi Vita di Capponi, p. 19.

† Guicchiardini, lib. xix. Nerli, lib. viii. p. 172.

in their private affairs his connections, nor take away the ensigns and ornaments which belonged to his family. With a commission to this purpose he had sent a Florentine prelate as his ambassador to Florence; but as he had not obtained an audience, he solicited, through the medium of the king of France, that they would send an embassy to him, earnestly endeavouring to remove all their suspicions, and by all appearances of candour, frankness, and familiarity in his dealings with them, to dispose them to fall in with his insidious designs. As all these devices proved unsuccessful, he exerted himself to persuade Lautrech, that as those who governed in Siena were dependents on the emperor, it would be useful to his affairs to restore Fabio Petrucci to that city; but Lautrech, from the opposition of the Florentines, would not engage in it. Failing in this way, he laboured in secret with Pirro, who complained of grievances against the Senese, that with eight hundred men, and some exiles from Chiusi, he should seize upon that territory, and endeavour by that means to govern Siena; but the Florentines insinuating to the French ambassador, the viscount de Turenne, that the pope aimed at nothing but disturbing Florence by the means of Siena, the ambassador persuaded him to give up the movement to Chiusi.

Capponi, the gonfalonier, held at this time \* with the pope a correspondence, by means of Jacobo Salvati, by which the pope intended in time, and with patience, to overcome all difficulties, and obtain the restoration of his family; but the gonfalonier intended only to amuse the pope,

\* Nerli, p. 172, 173.

and

and prevent him from undertaking any enterprise against the city with force. Thus both parties hoped to gain the advantage of time. Capponi gave hopes to the pope, that the city might be disposed to agree with him, as they had been used to do with other pontiffs, provided his holiness would content himself to leave it in the quiet enjoyment of its liberty. This correspondence, though conducted with secrecy to avoid suspicion, was communicated, however, to several of the first citizens in the government. Jacobo Alamanni, though he knew the correspondence was conducted with the privity of the government and for the good of the state, was excited by the competitors of the gonfalonier to seize with violence Serragli, who had been sent by Salviati upon the business, and a great clamour was excited against the gonfalonier: fresh libels were published, and old ones reprinted; the young men were again excited tumultuously to demand arms, ensigns, and officers, to be elected by themselves; and the triumvirate prevailed so far as to have a new ordinance for the militia, by which an imbursement should be made of the young soldiers, and from time to time a number drawn, to keep the guard of the palace. This was no better than making the government prisoners to the opposition. Alamanni at length proceeded to such violence, tumult, and outrage against the gonfalonier, that the signori, who by the greater council were authorized to defend the palace, were obliged, in order to suppress this armed sedition, to order him to be seized: he attempted to fly, but was made prisoner, condemned, and beheaded. This punishment excited fresh clamours against the gonfalonier, especially among the  
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the young soldiers, who now reproached their own leaders, the triumvirate, for having concurred in the sentence, although they had stimulated under-hand the offence. Perhaps to remove Carducci and Strozzi out of the way of giving further disturbance to the government, the first was appointed ambassador to France, and the second to Venice. Both declined the employment; but as the laws would not permit any citizen to renounce an embassy without alledging just impediments, to be approved by the signori and colleges, they applied to be excused, but their reasons were not admitted, and they fell under the punishment of admonition and other heavy penalties. Their arguments before the signori and colleges only served to divide still more and distract the public councils. Carducci at last went to France much against his will, but Strozzi was condemned and admonished; and this again alienated many friends from the gonfalonier, and weakened still further his party. But many grew weary of the endless confusions and anxieties arising from this government in one centre, and that centre the nation. Those who had been in reputation in the time of the Medici began to recover credit, and the faction of the triumvirate lost ground. The young men too were divided, some warmly attached to the gonfalonier, and others as zealous against him, especially those who resented the punishment of Alamanni. The gonfalonier, trusting to a good conscience and upright intentions, proceeded in his negotiations with the pope, with the participation of his principal colleagues in government; and this he thought the more necessary, since the ruin of the French army near Naples made him suspect that the pope would  
reconcile



reconcile himself with the emperor; and indeed the pope at this time\*, under a countenance of exquisite dissimulation, had all his thoughts taken up with the recovery of the government of Florence, still amusing the French ambassadors and the other confederates with various negotiations, and specious hopes of his adhering to the league. Nevertheless, moved partly by the dread of the grandeur of the emperor, and the success of his enterprises, and partly by the hopes of inducing him more easily than he could the king of France to assist him in the restoration of his family to Florence, he had a stronger inclination to the emperor than to the king: to facilitate this design, he moreover most earnestly desired to draw to his devotion the state of Perugia; to which end he was believed to have stimulated Braccio Baglione, who constantly attempted new disturbances in that neighbourhood.

1529. In this conjuncture a fresh altercation happened in Florence, to the great misfortune of the government†, against Capponi, at the end of the second year of his magistracy, excited principally by the envy of some of the principal citizens, who availed themselves of the jealousies and ignorance of the multitude. The gonfalonier in all his administration, as well as in this correspondence, had two principal points in view; to defend against fresh attacks of envy or resentment those who had been placed in honour by the Medici, and even to communicate to them, in common with the other citizens, the honours and councils of the public; and in things of no moment to liberty, not to exasperate the spirit of the pope. These

\* Guicchiardini, lib. xix. p. 170, edit. Venet. 1574. Nerli, p. 179.

† Guicchiardini, lib. xix. Nerli, p. 179.

points were both of great utility to the republic, because many of those who had been persecuted as enemies of the government, finding themselves in safety, would have joined heartily with the others to defend it; and because the pontiff, though he eagerly desired the return of his family, would, if no fresh provocations were given him, have less incitements to precipitation, and less grounds for those complaints he was continually making to other princes. But to this policy was opposed the ambition of many, who knowing that they should be farther from a share in the government, or have less influence in it, if the friends of the Medici, men undoubtedly of more experience and merit, were in it, minded no other business than that of filling the multitude with suspicions of the pope and his party; calumniating the gonfalonier, that he might not obtain the prolongation of his magistracy for the third year, as not having a sufficient hatred against the Medici. Capponi, unmoved at these slanders, and thinking it very necessary that the pope should not be provoked, entertained him with letters and private messages, as before related; a practice which was begun and continued with the knowledge and approbation of the principal citizens in administration, and with no other end than to divert the pope from taking some violent measures. As fortune would have it, having dropped by accident and incautiously in the council-chamber a letter from Rome, in which were some words capable of exciting suspicion in such as were uninformed of the original and foundation of the correspondence, it fell into the hands of Jacobo Gherardi, one of those who had seats in the supreme council, and were most bitter against the gonfalonier; certain seditious young men rose in arms and seized the palace, retaining the gonfalonier

nier in custody, and calling together the magistrates and a multitude of citizens, tumultuously deliberated and resolved that he should be deprived of his office \*; which decision was confirmed by the larger council. Capponi was rendered incapable; and it was ordained that the gonfalonier should be for the future but for one year, and that his salary should be reduced one half. The opposition of the triumvirate had so turned the brains of the people by their intrigues, that a great change was made in the government, and Francesco Carducci, a man proved by his past life, by his condition and his depraved views, to be unworthy of so great an honour, was chosen in his place. Capponi was brought to his trial, and defended himself with such eloquence and ability, and shewed so clearly that his conduct, instead of being criminal, had been dictated by the principal persons in government, and merely for the public good, that he was acquitted with honour, and accompanied home to his palace by almost all the nobility. Upon the privation of Capponi, the pope no longer entertaining any hopes but from force, sent the archbishop of Capua in great haste to the emperor, and, as Capponi had foreseen, agrees to almost any terms that were demanded of him, in consideration of having his family restored to Florence, and a natural daughter of the emperor given in marriage to his nephew Alexander de Medici, the son of Lorenzo late duke of Urbino, whom the pope intended to invest with the secular grandeur of his house, because that some time before, when he was sick and in danger of death, he had made Hippolito, the son of Giuliano, a cardinal. The emperor stipulated to give twenty thou-

\* Guicchiardini, lib. xix. Nerli, p. 180.

sand ducats a year with his daughter, and to reinstate the pope in the possession of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera. And thus, by their continual factions and divisions, the citizens of Florence found they had disgusted both the king of France and the emperor: and thus it usually happens when small republics and petty princes intermeddle in the wars of great monarchs; the one in alliance thinks himself ill served, while the other who is in enmity is most grievously offended, and vows revenge\*.

The particulars of the negotiations at Cambray; the contradictory representations of their two ambassadors, Carducci and Cavalcanti, who were of different parties; the propositions of an accommodation with the emperor, made by the prince Doria through Louis Allamanni, and the rejection of them by the influence of Francisco Carducci, the new gonfalonier, and those citizens who were most jealous of the Medici and their party; are too tedious to relate, though they were rejected, and consequently the republic ruined, by the confused method of treating of foreign affairs in a numerous and mixed assembly, according to the new constitution. The emperor now arrives in person from Spain, and all the states of Italy sent ambassadors to pay him their respects, except Florence. The triumvirate, with their new gonfalonier, were afraid that either some of the old friends of the Medici, or some of the friends of Capponi, who was at the head of the middle or neutral party, as it was called, would be sent, and by this means come again into reputation; to prevent which they not only risked the emperor's resentment, but deprived themselves of the means of

\* Nerli, p. 184.

obtaining intelligence of any intrigue that might be begun between the pope and him. They set on foot, however, in order, as it was pretended, to unite the citizens, a subscription and an oath, to maintain the present popular government : but although the subscription was publicly opened in a book in the greater council, many respectable citizens ; would not subscribe, as they knew it to be impossible to unite the citizens cordially in such a plan. The animosities of party grew warmer, and Pazzi, a friend of Capponi, of a very respectable character, was accused of uttering seditious words. The prosecution occasioned great heat ; Pazzi was tried and acquitted, and Rinieri would have been imprisoned for his false accusation, if the gonfalonier and his party had not screened him from justice. In this manner did the gonfalonier, to increase his authority, and to make himself feared, seek every opportunity, and employ every means, to depress his adversaries ; and if he had succeeded against Pazzi, he intended to have pursued others with still greater animosity.

1529. About the middle of August the emperor arrives in Genoa, and all the rest of Italy sending him ambassadors, a fresh effort was made in Florence ; and, as it could not now be prevented, the gonfalonier conceived another device to defeat it. He prevailed to have the powers and instructions so confined, especially against agreeing with the pope, that they could obtain no other answer from the emperor than, " First accommodate your affairs with his holiness." But this was not all the evil : in such governments nothing can be done, with any degree of satisfaction to the public, but by gratifying every party ; if one clamorous faction is left to excite a cry, all is confusion. Upon this occasion four ambassadors had been appointed,



ed, Strozzi, Capponi, Sodorini, and Girolami, who could no more agree among themselves than with the emperor or the pope. They could never agree in writing their dispatches. Sodorini and Girolami, to maintain their city in the French interest, and in its obstinacy not to agree with the pope in any manner, would not concur with Strozzi and Capponi in writing clearly and plainly what the emperor had said to them. In September the united armies of the pope and the emperor resolved on taking possession of Perugia, and the pope gave notice to Malatesta Baglioni to depart from that city. Malatesta demands of Florence men and money to defend it. In order to give the most pointed offence to the pope, and to make their defiance the more conspicuous, they affected to extend it not only to his person but to the pontifical see. They resolved in Florence to send three thousand men to the aid of Malatesta, to prevent the church from recovering one of its principal territories; but with all this assistance, Malatesta was driven out of Perugia, and marched to Florence, in consequence of an order from the gonfalonier, without the knowledge of the signori or council of ten, and against their judgments, as well as the general sense of the citizens, who almost unanimously desired an accommodation with the pope. A clamour now arose against the gonfalonier and his friends, which obliged them to call to council many citizens of the other parties, whom they had long neglected, who carried a resolution to send other ambassadors to the pope with more ample powers of accommodation. But the gonfalonier had subtilty enough to defeat this resolution, although it had been taken with very general satisfaction, by delaying the commission; and proceeded to take measures for the de-



fence of the city against the confederated army. Many of the principal citizens, alarmed at these delays, harangued freely in council in favour of an accommodation; but these were insulted in the street by the youth of the gonfalonier's party, for their freedom of speech in council. This occasioned a public complaint, and so much general indignation, that the gonfalonier was obliged to give way, and dispatch the ambassadors with full powers: but he had still the art to delay the deliberations in council upon the terms of accommodation. The ambassadors met with some difficulty to find the pope, and could not agree among themselves. Sodorini goes to Lucca, Strozzi to Venice; Capponi resolves to return to Florence, and labour openly and decidedly to persuade his fellow-citizens into an accommodation, and Girolami returns to oppose him\*. Capponi is taken sick, and dies at Garfagnana; Girolami therefore had a larger field opened to his † ambition to be gonfalonier, to which end he accommodated his discourse variously to different parties

\* Segni, Vita di Niccolo Capponi, p. 42.

‡ Infra le cagione, atte a rovinare la repubblica, una, e non la manco sono i cittadini, che favoriti, e fattisi capi del popolo, mentreche ora per ritenere quella grandezza, e ora per racquistarla, cercano di fare ogni cosa, che piace alla moltitudine, nè s'avvegono, che distruggono quella liberta: e questo è confermato, con molti esempi dell'antiche repubbliche della Grecia, e piu modernamente con quelli della Romana dove si vede, a chi considera quelle storie con buono giudizio, i cittadini popolari, essere stati piu cagione della sua rovina, che quegli, che favorivano l'autorità del senato. Sienmi di ciò testimonio in prima i Gracchi, di poi Mario, e Cesare ultimamente, i quali sebbene con oneste cagioni di sollevare il popolo grasso, cercarono di compiacergli, ebbono nondimanco sotto questo pretesto nedesimo nascosto il veleno, che estinse appoco quella repubblica. Non è dubbio, che, leggendo questa storia, si potra conchiudere questo medesimo, che

ties of the citizens: from those whom he knew to be desirous of peace, he disguised his sentiments, and concealed his late conduct; to the neutral party he proposed, that the city should stand upon its defence, and make the best preparations for it, but be ready to receive, or even to propose, any reasonable terms of accommodation on the first favourable opportunity; but with the faction of the gonfalonier, knowing their resolution to be fixed to see the city perish rather than yield to any accommodation, he opened himself in private without reserve, and declared himself devoted to their system. It is the general opinion of historians, as well as of Segni, “ that the divisions of the citizens into parties under the triumvirate, and afterwards of those persons of middle rank, who, by means of their discords, came after them into power, as Carducci, Castiglione, and others, were the true cause of the loss of their liberties; for these persons, though few in number, among a people jealous of their liberties, and full of parties and various humours, found it easy to agitate their fellow-citizens in so violent a manner, as to make them resolve upon sustaining a siege, and to render the defence glorious. And although it is not denied that the pope gave a provocation to this, and would have tried every method to recover Florence, yet the difficulties were so great, that it is not doubted he would have been contented with reasonable conditions, rather than venture on so atrocious and so impious a war.”

che i capi del popolo, Sodorini, Strozzi, Carducci, mentreche opponendosi a Niccolo Capponi, per farsi piu grandi, è venire in piu grazia, indebolirono assai quel governo. Segni, Storie, lib. iv. p. 102.

1529. We pass over all the marches of armies, and intrigues of negotiation between the king of France, the emperor, the pope, the Venetians, &c. which occurred before the fifth of October, 1529, when the prince of Orange advanced before Florence, and laid siege to the city, which was now well fortified, and contained a strong garrison. Valori was sent by the pope as his commissary to the army, and with him went a large number of Florentine exiles (of whom there was always a multitude scattered and wandering about all Italy, and waiting for the motion of troubled waters) who now joined the united army of the pope and emperor. As these had relations and connections in the city, an alarm was excited; and, to intimidate every one from the thoughts of an accommodation, the signori resolved that five-and-twenty citizens should be declared suspected of disaffection to the popular government, and confined in the palace under a strong guard: and, to complete their plan of terror against any one who might speak of an accommodation, they cut off the head of Carlo Cocchi, for saying that it would be better to restore the Medici than to hazard the war, and for talking of a parliament. There is not in the whole history a fact more curious than this, as it lets us into the true character of this government. It was always called the popular government, but it was really an aristocracy; and the members of it dreaded an assembly or convention of the people\*, which they called

\* E per dare più spavento, e per mettere piu terrore, a chi pur ancora volesse ragionare d'accordo, pretero certa occasione contro a Carlo Cocchi sopra una querela, par la quale era Carlo accusato, ch' egli avesse detto, quando si ragionava largemente, e molto liberamente nell' universale dell' accordo,

called a parliament, as much as they did the Medici: and soon after, the same sentence and execution was passed upon Fra. Rigogolo, for daring to speak of an accommodation\*. And by these arts and means did this aristocratical tyrant, the gonfalonier, spread such a terror among the citizens, that no man dared oppose his will; and he obtained and exercised more power than the magistrates, the cabal (*pratiche*), the ordinary council, or the laws; and he used it accordingly in the most arbitrary manner, in raising money by various illegal measures, by discarding magistrates and dissolving councils at his pleasure, and in doing all other things that an unbridled despot could do. It would be tedious, and it is unnecessary to relate all the particulars of his arbitrary conduct; of the assaults and sallies, in one of which the prince of Orange was killed; the hopes, fears, deliberations, distresses, and famine of a siege, which does infinite dishonour to this pope, who had no right to subject the city; and of a defence which was made by the obstinacy of an aristocratical junto for purposes of ambition, equally reprehensible, though coloured with a pretence of a popular government, but which was by no means conducted by the spirit of liberty, or upon any principle of a free people: on the contrary, it was conducted,

*che fusse piuttosto da voler rimettere i Medici, che aspettare la guerra, e conteneva la querela, che Carlo in un certo modo avesse in quel suo parlare mescolato anche il nome tanto odioso al governo popolare del parlamento. Nerli, lib. ix. P. 199.*

\* Onde messono tale spavento, e tanto terrore nell' universale percagione, de cittadini sostenuti e per quelle esecutioni, che s'erano fatte, chi piu non era rimasto in Firenze chi pure ardisse non solo parlare dell' accordo, o della guerra, ma non era anche chi avesse in animo a contraorsi a quelli della setta del gonfaloniere in cosa alcuna. Nerli, p. 199.

1530.

from first to last, without regard to any law or constitution; and against the sense of a great majority of the people. The defence was sustained from October to August; on the ninth day of which month, 1530, four ambassadors were deputed to treat with Don Fernando da Gonzaga, who, since the death of Orange, had the chief command of the army, and the next day a convention was concluded. The principal articles were, that the city should pay eight thousand ducats for removing the army; that the pope and the city should give authority to the emperor to declare, within three months, what should be the form of government, "*salva nondimeno la liberta \**," with a reservation of liberty; that a pardon should be understood, for every one, of all injuries done to the pope, his friends, and servants; and that Malatesta should remain with two thousand foot, for the guard of the city, until the emperor's declaration should arrive. It is made a question, whether the general who commanded in Florence was or was not a traitor to his cause. Varchi is very sanguine in the affirmative, and produces letters in evidence; but the citizens and garrison were reduced to such extremities for provisions, that they could not have held out three days longer. The pope, on his part, was not very anxious to fulfil his treaty. While the money was

\* In primis, che la forma del governo abbia da ordinarsi, e stabilirsi dalla Maestà Cesarea infra quattro mesi prossimi avvenire, *intendendosi sempre conservata la libertà*. Nerli, lib. xi. p. 144.—Intendendosi sempre, che sia conservata la libertà. Varchi, lib. xi. p. 429.—Che la città rimanesse libera nel modo ch' ell' era, rimettendo solamente i Medici, e tutti gli altri cittadini, fatte ribelle, da quel governo. Segni, p. 125. Nardi, lib. ix. p. 382. Muratori, Annal. tom. x. p. 213, anno 1530. Laugier, Hist. de Venise, lib. xxxv. tom. ix. p. 385. Guicchiardini, lib. xix.



getting ready to pay off the army, Valori, the apostolic commissary, in concert with Malatesta, having called together the people in the piazza, according to the ancient custom of the city, to make a parliament, the magistrates and others conniving at it through fear, instituted a new government contrary to the treaty, giving authority by this parliament to twelve citizens, who adhered to the Medici, to ordain, in their own manner, the constitution of the city, who reduced it to that form which prevailed before the year 1527. The army received their money; the Italian officers defrauded their soldiers, whom they dismissed to seek their fortunes without their pay; the Spaniards and Germans marched into Siena, to remodel the government of that city; and Malatesta returned to Perugia without any further declaration from the emperor, and left the city of Florence at the arbitrary disposition of the pontiff.

Now began the punishments of the citizens; for those in whose hands the government was left, partly for the security of the state, and partly by the hatred conceived against the authors of so great calamities, and the resentment of private injuries, but principally because such was the intention of the pope, brought the principal citizens concerned in the late government to a trial, and they were sentenced to death and executed; others were confined, without much regret, sympathy, or pity, from any party; for the friends of Capponi, and all the real friends of liberty, regarded them as the causes of preventing an accommodation, and the ruin of their country, while the Medici considered them as their bitterest enemies. The pope sends the archbishop of Capua to take care of the government, who, by the pope's orders, and to give more general satisfaction



tion to the citizens, causes the balia to be increased in number to one hundred and thirty-six, makes a general scrutiny for offices, regulates commerce, makes a new imbursement of the six magistrates, renews the purses, and disposes all other things according to his inclinations: but a quarrel arises between the cardinal Hippolito de Medici and the duke Alexander, and a contention for the sovereignty of Florence; but the pope and the emperor determine it in favour of Alexander.

1531. In 1531 the ordinance of the emperor arrived, and is formally accepted. Many of the best citizens, some of whom had been always friends of the Medici, with great reluctance gave up the idea of a free government; they still solicited the pope against reducing the republic to an absolute principality, but they could not agree among themselves: some were for a dukedom, limited only by councils; others for restoring the state to the form it was formerly in under the Medici; and others for a more rational distribution of power. But the pope was determined, if he could, to make his family and friends secure.

1532. In 1532 the pope's intentions were made known, and twelve citizens were appointed to reform the state; the signori and the gonfalonier were abolished; a council of two hundred was created, and a senate of forty-eight. The senate of forty-eight was to have the whole legislative and executive power, and the council of two hundred were merely to consider private petitions, and such things as should be referred to them by the senate. Four persons, members of the senate, were to be high counsellors of the duke, and Alexander and his heirs were made dukes, and heads of the state.

state. Guicchiardin's account is \*, that the pope interpreted the article in the treaty, which had stipulated pardon, not according to the sense, but the letter, not to comprehend crimes committed against the state, but only injuries to the pope and his friends. Six of the principal delinquents were adjudged by the magistrates to be beheaded, others to be imprisoned, and a great number banished. By these proceedings the city was weakened, and those who had been concerned in the late troubles reduced to great necessities, and the power of the Medici became more free, more absolute, and almost monarchical in Florence, which remained exhausted of money by so long and grievous a war, deprived within and without of many of its inhabitants, its houses and property destroyed abroad, and more than ever divided within itself: and this poverty was rendered yet more distressing, by the necessity of procuring, for several years, provisions from foreign countries, since there had been no harvests nor seeds sown. The emperor, in declaring the form of government, neglecting the salvo of liberty, pronounced, according to the very instructions the pope had sent him, that the city should be governed by the same magistrates as in the times when the Medici ruled it, and that Alexander, who was the pope's nephew, and his own son-in-law, should be the head of the government, and be succeeded by the children, descendants, and nearest relations of the same family. He restored to the city all the privileges granted by himself or his predecessors, but on condition to be forfeited whenever the citizens should make any attempt against the grandeur of the family of Medici; inserting,

• Guicchiardini, lib. xx.

throughout

throughout the decree, words which shewed it to be founded not only in the power conceded to him by the people and the parties, but also on the imperial dignity and authority. The spirit of families, and the ambition peculiar to it, is, when once thoroughly enkindled, a raging flame, extinguishable only by death; every new gratification of it is only a fresh addition of fuel to the burnings. The passion of Hercules, Cæsar, and Mahomet, had now full possession of Clement the Seventh; and the domination so perfidiously acquired over that noble city, where his ancestors had laid the foundation of their power in a popularity among the basest dregs of a mob, was not sufficient to satiate it. The pontiff had fixed in his heart an ardent appetite for an alliance with France; his ambition and thirst for this kind of glory, which, instead of being a virtue, is a detestable vice, stimulated him the more, that being only of a private family, he had obtained for one natural son a natural daughter of so powerful an emperor, he now hoped to procure for his legitimate niece a legitimate son of a king of France; and he was not discouraged from this pretension by the jealousy that the king of France might form claims for his son and daughter-in-law on the state of Florence. By various negotiations he at length accomplished an interview with the king of France at Marseilles. The pontiff exerted his usual dissimulation to persuade all the world, that he went to this interview chiefly to finish the peace, to treat of an enterprize against the infidels, to reduce Henry the Eighth, king of England, to his duty: in short, with a single view to the public good. But he could not conceal his real motive, when he sent his niece on board the gallies which the king of France had ordered,

ordered, with the duke of Albany, her uncle, to Nizza. These galleys, after having conducted the lady to Nizza, returned to Pisa, and on the fourth of October, 1532, took the pope, with many of his cardinals, and landed them in a few days at Marseilles. He made his entry in form: the king did the same. They lodged in the same palace, and made mutual demonstrations of uncommon affection. The king, desirous of gaining the pope's heart, requested him to send for his niece to Marseilles, which the pope, though he pretended to treat first of public affairs, most cordially desired\*. As soon as Catharine de Medici arrived, the marriage was celebrated with Henry the son of the king of France, and consummated immediately, to the infinite joy of the pope, who, negotiating with the king in person, completely gained his confidence and affection. 1532.

The pope returned from Marseilles, and soon after, in 1534, he died. Alexander had taken effectual measures to disarm all the citizens of Florence, friends as well as enemies, and thought himself now secure. Philip Strozzi, however, was highly disgusted and provoked, both with the duke and the pope, because he had not been able to procure one of his sons to be made a cardinal, as his lady Clarissa had often promised him; and because two of his sons had been taken up, with some other young gentlemen, in the licence of a masquerade, and committed to prison by the lieutenant of the police, and because of some quarrel arisen between Peter his eldest son, and Salviati, a favourite of Alexander: in this disgust he went with his sons, as soon as he could obtain their liberty, to France. After the death of the pope, 1534.

\* Nerli, p. 270.

animosities increased between the duke Alexander and the cardinal Hippolito, and Philip Strozzi goes from France to Rome; and as great divisions arose in Florence, on account of the difference between the duke and the cardinal, and their negotiations with the emperor, as had existed under the former government. Hippolito, on a journey to meet the emperor, though in high health and strength, is taken violently ill on the road, and dies, not without strong suspicions of poison. The death of the cardinal relieves the duke from all apprehensions of his intrigues; but Philip Strozzi, and the exiles from Florence, began to think of negotiating with the emperor, and went to Naples to meet him. Alexander too goes to Naples: and there arose great disputes before the emperor about the form of government; Strozzi and the exiles endeavouring to obtain a restoration of that kind of freedom which had been enjoyed formerly under the Medici. But Alexander marries the duchess Margarite, the emperor's daughter, and returns to Florence, leaving Strozzi and the exiles disappointed\*. Lorenzo di Pierfranco de Medici had accompanied Alexander to this interview with the emperor at Naples, and there had entered into intimate friendship with Peter Strozzi† and the other Florentine exiles, and conceived that design of assassinating his friend and patron, which he afterwards executed with so many circumstances of cool deliberation, insidious malice, and execrable villany. He was a young nobleman, in greater favour with the duke than any other. To him, after their return from Na-

\* Nerli, p. 286. Segni, lib. vii. p. 199. Adriani, Hist. di suoi Tempi, p. 9.

† Varchi, p. 547.



ples to Florence, were communicated all the duke's private amours, as well as all the most important councils of the state; and the more effectually to secure his confidence, Lorenzo had acted the part of so active an instrument, as to have drawn upon himself an universal odium among all parties in Florence, but particularly among the grandees and nobles. At the same time he held secret intrigues and intelligence with Philip Strozzi\*, and all the exiles abroad, and at home so artfully affected an aversion to arms and public affairs, and to be wholly devoted to his studies and his pleasures, that the duke and his courtiers called him "The Philosopher †." Varchi informs us ‡, that he received his information of this horrid action from the only persons who could be capable of relating the whole truth, because they were the only witnesses of it, and agents in it; from Lorenzo himself in the city of Paluello, eight miles from Padua, and from Scoronconcolo his confidant, in the house of the Strozzi in Venice.

Lorenzo was born in Florence, the 23d of March, 1514, the son of Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo de Medici, grand nephew of Lorenzo brother of Cosimo, and of Maria the daughter of Tommaso di Paolantonio Sodorini, a lady of uncommon prudence and benevolence, from whom, his father dying early, he was educated with consummate diligence and care; but he had no sooner acquired the knowledge of the classics, in which his genius enabled him to make a rapid progress, than he was taken from the care of his mother and his tutor, and begun to discover a restless and insatiable disposition to plunge himself in vice, and soon

\* Segni, p. 199.

† Ibid. p. 200.

‡ Varchi, lib. xv. p. 587.



afterwards, in imitation of Philip Strozzi, to make a jest of every thing divine and human, and to associate himself with persons of base condition and character, rather than with his equals. These by continual flatteries, and fomenting his passions, led him into vice and folly of every kind, particularly into all the extravagances of brutal appetite in his amours, respecting neither sex, age, condition, or secrecy. While he sought an intercourse with all, he affected to esteem none; yet he had an equally extravagant passion for glory, and left no empirical artifice unattempted, in his words or actions, by which he thought he could acquire a name, either of a gallant man or a shrewd one. He was nimble and active, rather lean than otherwise, and for this reason he affected to call himself Lorenzino: he never laughed; at most he only smiled. His air and action was more remarkable for grace than elegance, and his countenance was dark and melancholy. In the flower of his youth, although he was beloved beyond measure by the pope, Clement the Seventh, he had formed in his mind a project, as he said himself, after he had killed the duke Alexander, to assassinate his holiness. He corrupted Francesco di Raffaello de Medici, the rival of the pope, a youth of excellent erudition, and the most promising hopes, to such a degree of profligacy, that he seemed to be quite another character, and becoming the derision of the whole court of Rome, he was sent back, to avoid a greater disgrace, as a madman to Florence. At this time he fell into disgrace with the pope, and gave universal disgust to the Roman people, by another reason:—One morning, in the arch of Constantine, and in other places of Rome, many ancient statues were found without their heads. The pope was so exasperated, that, not  
thinking

thinking of Lorenzo, he gave orders, that whoever had done the mischief, excepting only the cardinal de Medici, should, without process, trial, or delay, be hanged up by the neck. The cardinal was obliged to go to the pope, and interceed for Lorenzo, as a young man, and passionately fond, like all their ancestors, of such antiquities; but it was with difficulty he could appease the indignation of the pope, who called him the infamy and reproach of the house of Medici. Lorenzo, however, was obliged to depart from Rome, with two public proclamations after him, one forbidding him to remain any longer in that city, and the other promising not only impunity, but rewards, to any one who would kill him; and Francesco Molza, a man of great eloquence, and celebrated for his knowledge of the Grecian, Roman, and Tuscan literature, made a public oration against him in the Roman academy, in which he covered him with all the reproaches possible. With all this infamy he returned to Florence, and began to make his court to the duke Alexander, and he understood so well the arts of hypocrisy and flattery, and counterfeited so perfectly an absolute submission to him in all things, that he made him believe he was a faithful spy upon the exiles abroad, holding at the same time, under this simulation, secret practices with these fugitives, and every day shewing letters received from them jointly or severally. To remove every suspicion of any daring enterprize, he affected the character of a coward, and would neither exercise in arms nor wear them about him, so that the duke took a pleasure in rallying him upon his pusillanimity. He affected to be wholly devoted to books and studies, walked much alone, and appeared to have no ambition for honours, or desire of property, in

so remarkable a manner, that they called him the philosopher. He complied with the inclinations of the duke in all things, and favoured him in all occurrences, especially against signor Cosimo, his second cousin, against whom he bore an unbounded hatred, either because they were of different, or rather contrary characters by nature, or by reason of a law-suit of very great importance, which Cosimo had instituted against him for the inheritance of their ancestors. By all these artifices the duke was deluded into a confidence in Lorenzo, so perfectly secure, that not contented with employing him as a pimp in his amours with all sorts of women, religious as well as secular, virgins, wives, or widows, noble or ignoble, young or old, he now engaged him to conduct to him a sister of his own mother by the father's side, a young lady of admirable beauty and equal modesty, who was the wife of Lionardo Ginori, who lived not far from the door of the back front of the palace of Medici. Lorenzo, who waited only for a similar opportunity, represented to him that the intrigue would be attended with difficulty, though not from himself, for in one word all women were alike; and upon this occasion their prospects were the better, because the husband was at Naples, where he had spent much of his fortune in dissipation. Although he had never dared to speak to the lady on the subject, he affirmed to the duke that he had, and that he had found her very obstinate; but he promised that he would never cease to seduce her, by bribes, flatteries, and every species of corruption, until he brought her to condescend in all things to their will. In the mean while he went on entertaining, not only by his actions but with words, one Michele del Tovalaccino, by means of the before-named Scoronconcolo, for whom he  
had

had procured a pardon for a murder he had committed, though a reward had by proclamation been set upon his head. To these ruffians he often complained of a certain intriguing personage at court, who, without the smallest provocation, had bantered, slandered, and insulted him with his jokes upon all his words and actions, but that in the name of God——. At these words Scoronconcolo, perceiving his meaning, suddenly cried, “Name him only, and let me alone to manage him; he shall never give you another ill word or look.” Here the conversation ended for the present, but Scoronconcolo found himself every day more and more caressed and loaded with favours by Lorenzo, who at length pressed him more earnestly to name his enemy, and not to doubt of his being soon put out of his way. Lorenzo answered, “Alas! no: it is a great favourite of the duke, whoever it is.” Scoronconcolo replied, in the language of a bully, “I will assassinate him if he were Christ himself.” Lorenzo then perceived that his design had succeeded, and having invited him one day to dinner, as he often did, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his mother, and the reproaches of the world, said to him, “Courage! courage! in that affair, which you promised me so bravely! I am sure you will not fail me; and I will never fail you, at any time, in any thing in my power. I am satisfied and resolved, but wish to find the means of doing the business with a sure hand. I will contrive to conduct him to a place where there can be no danger, and have no doubt we shall succeed.” The same night appeared to him to be the most proper time, because that signor Alexander Vitelli was absent upon an excursion to the city of Castello, and he took that opportunity,

portunity, after supper, to whisper in the ear of the duke, and to say to him, that at last, by the promise of money, he had disposed his aunt to comply, and therefore he must watch his opportunity, and come alone, and very cautiously, into his chamber, taking particular care, for the honour of the lady, that no one should see him either enter or go out, and that he himself would go immediately for her. It is certain that the duke, having put on a robe of satin lined with fur, according to the Neapolitan fashion, went out to walk with four of his courtiers, whom he soon dismissed, saying, he wished to be alone, and soon after went to the chamber of Lorenzo, where he found a good fire, and he soon ungirded his sword, and threw himself down on the couch. Lorenzo suddenly seized his sword, and winding hastily the belt round the hilt, so that it might not be easily unsheathed, laid it at the head of the duke, behind his pillow, and advised him to repose himself; secures one door, that no one might come in, and goes out at the other to find Scoronconcolo, and says to him, in a transport of joy, "My dear brother, now is the moment! I have shut up in my chamber that enemy of mine, and he is fast asleep." "Let us go," says Scoronconcolo; and when they were on the broad stair ascending to the chamber, Lorenzo turns about and says, "Don't mind whether it is a friend of the duke or not, mind you only to secure his hands." "I will do it," replies his trusty friend, "if it is the duke himself." "Every thing is so prepared," says Lorenzo with a joyful countenance, "that he cannot escape from our hands; let us make haste." "Let us go," says Scoronconcolo. Lorenzo lifted up the latch and let it fall again. At the second attempt he entered, and cried out, "Signor,



“ Signor, are you asleep?” Having no answer to this question, at one thrust with his sword he pierced him through from side to side. This stroke alone had been mortal, for passing through the reins, he had perforated the diaphragm which divides the upper ventricle, where are the heart and the other vital members, from the lower, where are the liver and the other members of nutrition and of generation. The duke, who either was asleep, or remained with his eyes shut as if he had slept, receiving such a blow, leaped up on the bed, and threw himself backwards to fly towards the door, making use of a stool which he had seized on for a shield; but Scoronconcolo, seizing an opportunity, gave him a stroke with a knife upon the visage, which laid open one of his temples, and cleaved the greatest part of his left cheek; and Lorenzo having dragged him back upon the bed, held him reversed, and bore upon his back with the whole weight of his body; and that he might not cry out, attempted to stop his mouth with his fingers, saying, “ Signor, doubt not.” Then the duke, assisting himself as well as he could, seized the fingers between his teeth, and bit them with such rage, that Lorenzo, having fell upon his back, and not being able to handle his sword, was obliged to call out for help to Scoronconcolo, who running to his aid, and taking his aim sometimes on one side, and then on the other, was not able to strike Alexander without striking first or at the same time Lorenzo, held fast by his arms and teeth. He then attempted to pierce him with the point of his sword between the legs of Lorenzo; but making no other impression than to bore the bed, he laid his hand on a knife, which he had by accident about him, and fixed it in the throat of the duke, whom he butchered as if he had been a bullock;



bullock: he was already, however, very near expiring from the effects of the first blow, by which he had lost so much blood as to have overflowed almost the whole chamber. It ought not to be forgotten, that through the whole of this tragical scene, while Lorenzo held him under, and he saw Scoronconcolo groping about him with his sword and knife to murder him, he never once complained, or begged for mercy, or let go his hold of those fingers which he held firmly between his teeth. The duke, as soon as he was dead, slid off the bed upon the floor; but they took him up, all over besmeared with blood, and placed him again upon the bed, and covered him with the same pavilion with which he had concealed himself before he first fell asleep, or made a shew of being asleep, which, in the opinion of some, he artfully did, because, knowing himself unskilful in the ceremonies of politeness, and that the lady whom he expected was a mistress in elegant conversation, he wished to avoid in this manner the necessity of exchanging fine speeches with her. Lorenzo, after he had disposed of the duke, partly to see whether they had been heard, and partly to recover his spirits, much exhausted by fatigue, placed himself at one of the windows which overlooked the broad street. Some persons in the house, particularly madam Maria, the mother of Cosimo, had heard a noise, and a trampling of feet; but no one had arose, because Lorenzo with this view had for some time before brought into this chamber companies of his comrades, drinking, rioting, and making a shew of quarrelling, crying out, "Murder! treason! you have killed me!" and other exclamations of that kind. When Lorenzo had reposed himself, he made Scoronconcolo call one of his footmen, named Freccia, and show him  
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him the dead body, which he recognized with such astonishment and horror, that he was with difficulty restrained from alarming the whole house. To what purpose he did this he neither explained to the historian, nor was he able to conjecture, unless it was upon the same principle, that nothing which Lorenzo did, from the moment of the death of Alexander to the time of his own death, or many years afterwards in Venice, ever succeeded, or appeared to be well judged. He took from Francis Zeffi, his maître d'hôtel, a small sum of money, all that he had by him in cash; and taking with him the key of the chamber, goes out of the house with Scoronconcolo and Freccia, and having previously obtained from the bishop of Marzi a licence for post-horses, under colour of going to his country seat of Cafaggiuolo, to see Giuliano, his younger brother, who he pretended had written to him that he was at the point of death with the cholic, went directly to Bologna, where he dressed his fingers, which were found marked for life, and there related to Silvester Aldobrandini, the judge, the whole transaction: but the judge, thinking it a romantic fiction, would not believe it, and very imprudently neglected to take any notice of it, until the arrival of the chevalier Marsili, who, with some others, went in pursuit of Lorenzo. The latter, in great haste and fatigue, arrived at Venice on the Monday night, and informed Philip Strozzi, that under that key, which he held out to him, he had locked up the duke Alexander, with his throat cut, and dead of many wounds. Philip very readily believed him, embraced him, and called him his Brutus, and promised him that he would marry his two sons, Peter and Robert, to his two sisters. Lorenzo excused himself for not having assembled

the people after the death of the duke, for three reasons. One was, that there were at the house several other popular citizens; but this was never heard of nor believed by any one. Another was, that he had left it in commission with Zeffo to open the chamber early in the morning, and go in quest of Giulian Capponi, and other citizens, lovers of liberty, and tell them what they should find in it. Thirdly, that Scoronconcolo had not ceased to stimulate him to depart, saying to him every minute, "Let us save ourselves, we have done but too much." But thus much is certain, that as no conspiracy was ever so deliberately meditated before the fact, nor more completely executed, so none was ever so stupidly and vilely conducted after the fact; nor was there ever any one from whence resulted effects more contrary or more hurtful to the perpetrator, or so prosperous and profitable to his enemies, the first of whom, without all controversy, was the signor Cosimo.

"I will not dispute," says Varchi, "whether this act was cruel or compassionate, commendable or blame-worthy, since no man can resolve that question, and give a true answer to it, who does not know for what reason, and to what end, Lorenzo was induced to commit it. If he was urged to so great an enterprise not to obtain the government of Florence, which, upon the death of the duke without legitimate descendants, would fall to him, but merely to deliver his country from a tyrant and restore her liberty, as he affirmed, I should think that no praises that could be given him would be high enough, and no rewards could be bestowed upon him which would not be below his merit." Is it not astonishing that such an historian should admit of a doubt, whether the motives of Lorenzo could be good ones? Is it possible

sible to read his own history, and not see that this struggle was merely between different branches of the same family of Medici for the sovereignty, and that there was not a ray of public virtue or love of liberty left in any of them? Strozzi, the rival family of Medici, had married a Medici, and could not bear that Alexander should rule. His character was too vile to be redeemed from infamy by his hypocritical affectation of republican simplicity, and his renouncing all titles but that of Philip; but he had great family connections, and was countenanced by France, and therefore might possibly recover his influence and power in Florence. This made it dangerous for the historian to mark the conduct of Lorenzo with that decided indignation which it merited. Some were of opinion that he was moved to this action merely by the malice of his nature, and the depravity of his own heart; others thought that he ventured on this danger to cancel the ignominy of the two Roman proclamations, and the oration made against him by Molza; others thought him agitated solely by a desire to make his name immortal, an ardent passion, that with all his crimes and vices had always incredibly tormented him. The right of a nation to depose a tyrant, and to destroy him if he cannot be otherwise deposed, is as clear as any of our ideas of right or wrong. In the Roman republic it was made an early and a fundamental law, by the aristocrats however, that it should be not only lawful, but meritorious and glorious, to kill a tyrant; and Brutus therefore acted the exalted part of the best citizen. But if the right of single citizens, when good and virtuous, and intending only the public good, to kill a tyrant was as clear as that of treading on the head of an adder, or hunting down a devouring

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ing wolf, it would by no means follow that one tyrant might claim a right to destroy another, merely to take his place. The people of Florence were now so totally devoted to the Medici family, that there was no party among them but what was headed by some branch of it: the blood of the Medici must in all events govern them; and the difference between them was worth very little. Strozzi and Lorenzo were worse than Alexander; and the only tolerably good man among them was Cosimo, whom they all hated, but whom Providence was pleased to call to the government in this awful manner. The silly tales of prognostics, the enthusiasm of the disciples of Savonarola, and the confusions and terrors among the principal people upon the first suspicion and final discovery of the duke's destiny, are not worth repeating. The council of forty-eight were assembled, but were not agreed in opinion. Canigiani proposed, that in place of the deceased duke, Guilio, his natural son, should succeed; but there was no other person present, who did not either smile at his folly, or express an indignation; for besides that the child was not five years old, this was known to be the inclination and secret motion of cardinal Cibo, Lorenzo's brother, who wished to be the tutor, and therefore governor of the city. After him was proposed the signor Cosimo de Medici, who knowing nothing of what had happened, was at Mugello, fifteen miles from Florence, at his country seat of Trebbio. At this nomination all appeared to be struck, and looking at one another, seemed ready to accept it, every one knowing that Cosimo was the next heir, after Lorenzo, according to the declaration of the emperor; but Palla Rucellai, without doubt in favour of Philip Strozzi, to whom he was attached, opposed warmly  
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this proposition, and said, that so many citizens, and of such consequence, were abroad, that nothing of importance, especially so great an affair, ought to be determined on; and notwithstanding all that was urged by Francesco Guicchiardini, and Francesco Vettori, he persisted obstinately in his objections, and occasioned some confusion in council. At another day, however, Cosimo was elected head of the commonwealth, accepted the trust, and behaved in it with so much wisdom, that those who, from his moderate and composed behaviour before, believed him to be possessed of but mean abilities, were constrained to confess, that God had granted him discretion with the dukedom.

Intelligence was scattered throughout all Italy, with incredible celerity, of the death of Alexander; and, by all the Florentine exiles, the name of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de Medici was exalted in praises to the skies, not only as the parallel of Brutus, but greatly surpassing him. Varchi wonders that so many citizens of so great prudence, and especially Guicchiardini, who conducted the whole of this election, should have suffered themselves to be so far blinded and transported by their ambition or avarice, or both, as not to see what they were about. Indeed, no man is ever to be praised, perhaps never to be justified, in consenting to the surrender of a free government; and Guicchiardini appears much to blame for not endeavouring to new-model the commonwealth upon this occasion. But most probably he knew, what Varchi himself confesses \*, that the Florentines were at this time all either avaricious or ambitious, and the major part of them proud, envious, and malicious; and therefore that none of them

\* Varchi, p. 621.



could be trusted by him, or by each other. He probably believed that delay, or any attempt to restore liberty or reform the constitution, would only give an opportunity to Strozzi, Lorenzo, and the exiles, to assume the dukedom in reality, under the alliance of France; he moreover probably thought it impossible, among an ignorant people, and so many corrupt factions, to amend the constitution, and that a sovereignty in one was preferable to their old fluctuating aristocracy, disguised under the name only of a popular state.—The exiles were still restless, and endeavoured to excite fresh wars against their country; but Cosimo, by his abilities, address, and activity, defended his authority, and was afterwards confirmed, not only as head of the state, but as duke and sovereign. And here ended the shadow of a free government.

Let me now request you, my dear Sir, to run over again, in your own mind, this whole story of Florence, and ask yourself, whether it does not appear like a satire, written with the express and only purpose of exposing to contempt, ridicule, and indignation, the idea of “a government in one centre,” and the “right constitution of a commonwealth?” If you suspect that this mean sketch is in any degree varied, by prejudice, from the truth, read over any historian of Florence, as Machiavel, Guicchiardini, Nerli, Nardi, Varchi, Villany, or Ammirato, and then say, whether it is not a libel upon Turgot and Nedham. From the beginning to the end, it is one continued struggle between monarchy and aristocracy; a continued succession of combinations of two or three parties of noble, rich, or conspicuous families, to depress the people on the one hand, and prevent an oligarchy, or a monarchy, from arising up among themselves on the other. Neither the first family,

nor any of the others their rivals, made any account of the people, excepting now and then for a moment, for the purposes of violence, sedition, and rebellion : instead of devising any regular method for calling the people together, with a reasonable notification before-hand of the time, place, and subject of deliberation, a little junto of principal citizens concert a plan in secret among themselves, give notice previously to such as they please, their own dependents and partisans, order the bells to be rung, and a little flock of their own creatures assemble in the piazza. There the junto nominate a dozen or a score of persons for a *balia*, to reform the state at their pleasure : no reasonable method of voting for them, no instructions given them ; the people huzza, and all is over. What ideas are here of the rights of mankind ? what equality is here among the citizens ? what principle of national liberty is here respected ? what method is this to obtain the national sense, the public voice ? Can this be called the voice of God ? When the *balia* is appointed, what is the question before them ? Is there any enquiry how the government can be made a fair, equal, and constant representation of the nation, and a sure instrument for collecting the public wisdom ? The imborfations are made, and eight hundred names are put in the purses. These alone are citizens ; all the rest are to have no vote. These appoint the *signori*, a small council, for the ordinary administration, and the *gonfalonier*, who has no more power nor so much dignity as a *doge* of Venice. The great council is the centre in which all authority is collected, and he who had most influence in it, governed in reality, whoever were the *signori* or the *gonfalonier* ; consequently, the council and *signori* too were always divided into parties,

ties, at the head of whom were always two of the most noted families ; and the only question really was, which should be first. As the waves and winds determined, sometimes one and sometimes another prevailed, and took vengeance of their opponents by banishments and confiscations. The executive power was sometimes managed by the signori, and sometimes by the grand council : the judicial power was always the tool of the prevailing faction. Was there one year, one moment in the whole history, when the citizens could be truly said to enjoy the blessings of liberty, equality, safety, and good order ? If you fix your eye upon any period, from the beginning to the end of the republic, and suppose the gonfalonier possessed of the whole executive power, with a negative upon the legislature, the signori and grand council made separate and independent branches of the legislature, though elected periodically by the people, and the judges made during good behaviour, would not those terrible disorders have been prevented ? The negative to the gonfalonier is not proposed, because he is a wiser or a better man than others, but merely as a constitutional instrument of self-defence ; without it, he cannot defend the legal authority which the constitution has given him, but the executive power will be pared away, or wrested out of his hands, by the encroaching disposition of human nature in the two houses. If he wantonly uses his negative for other purposes, a case that can rarely happen, a new gonfalonier must be appointed ; but if his ministers are made responsible for the advice they give him, the two houses will always have a remedy. An honest representative of the commons will always have another remedy, by withholding supplies.

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As this account of Florence was introduced by some reflections of a modern author, it cannot be concluded with more propriety than by some others from the same able and liberal writer. In his Parallel of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages with those of ancient Italy, he says \*, “ Whoever shall read, in the Annals of the cities of Lombardy, and in the Chronicles of Tuscany, how the people passed so frequently, both in external wars and in civil factions, from battles to peace, and from domestic life to arms and hostilities, and that perpetual succession of accords, rebellions, and tumults, will be apt to believe that he sees, copied under different names, the wars of the Romans with the Latins and the Volsci, and the continual quarrels of the plebeians with the patricians, and the animosities of the senate against the tribunes; and sometimes it will happen to him, that in reading, for example, the Florentine history of Scipione Ammirato, he will think he has in his hand a translation into his own language of Livy. The manner of proclaiming and prosecuting war, and of concluding peace, which was practised by the ancient Italians in the time of Camillus and of Pirrhus, is not very different from that which we observe in the age of Frederic the Second and the Manfreds; and, in the internal concerns of the cities, both in the one and the other period, the cruelty and the scorn of the nobles towards the plebeians, and the injustice of the people in their demands, as soon as they had discovered their own strength, and had begun to lay their hands on the government. The

\* *Danina*, *Revoluzione d'Italia*, lib. xii. cap. v. vol. ii. p. 241.

one and the other were animated with the same spirit, agitated by the same humours, and subject to the same revolutions. That supreme love of their country, which, on occasions of public danger, silenced and appeased their private quarrels and enmities, reigned equally at all times in both: the same simplicity of manners, the same severity of life, the same patience of poverty and fatigue. To this is to be added, the use and exercise of arms, by which every little nation, if it cannot make extensive conquests, at least may preserve its own liberty. Finally, he will observe with pleasure, how, after the ancient Italians, and those people who in the middle ages arose from the ruins of the kingdom of the Lombards, and of the second western empire, the cities which appear to have had the narrowest territory, and the most modern original, not only maintained their freedom for a long time, but increased in power and dominion; whereas the most able and the most ancient passed more easily under the yoke, either of tyrants of their own, or of foreign powers. We shall see, in like manner, a great resemblance in the fortune of the tyrants of the ancient Italian cities, and those of the republics of Tuscany and Lombardy, in the age of Frederic the Second, and the following; and may very well find arguments to compare Eccelino of Romagna with Tarquin the Proud; the marquis Oberto Pelavicino, Buoso da Doara, and Martino della Torre, with Porfenna king of Chiusi, and with other like princes or supreme magistrates of the ancient Tuscans, Latins, Campanians, and Samnites. From which we have shewn, that the free and independent cities passed sometimes under the yoke of some powerful citizen, who made himself its master, or under the  
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dominion of a tyrant of some other neighbouring city: so that a signior of Padua, of Milan, or of Verona, obtained the government of many other cities of Lombardy, equally free and independent."

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## LETTER II.

### *Machiavel's Plan of a perfect Commonwealth.*

Dear Sir,

**M**ACHIAVEL, from his long experience of the miseries of Florence in his own times, and his knowledge of their history, perceived many of the defects in every plan of a constitution they had ever attempted. His sagacity too perceived the necessity of three powers; but he did not see an equal necessity for the separation of the executive power from the legislative. The following project contains excellent observations, but would not have remedied the evils. The appointment of officers in the council of a thousand would have ruined all the good effects of the other divisions of power. There is some doubt about the time when it was written: Nerli and Nardi think it was addressed to Clement the Seventh, but the English editor supposes it was Leo the Tenth, and his opinion is here followed.—About the year 1519, Leo the Tenth\*, being informed of the

\* Discourse upon the proper Ways and Means of reforming the Government of Florence. Eng. edit. vol. iv. p. 263.



discords that were ready to break out in Florence, gave a commission to Machiavel to draw up a plan for the reformation of that state. He executed this commission with great abilities, and the most exquisite subtilty of his genius; and produced a model, in the opinion of some, of a perfect commonwealth. The sovereign power is lodged; both of right and in fact, in the citizens themselves.

“ There are three orders of men in every state, and for that reason there should be also three ranks or degrees in a republic, and no more; nor can that be said to be a true and durable commonwealth, where certain humours and inclinations are not gratified, which otherwise must naturally end in its ruin. Those who model a commonwealth, must take such provisions as may gratify three sorts of men, of which all states are composed; that is, the high, the middle sort, and the low.”—Machiavel by these observations demonstrates, that he was fully convinced of this great truth, this eternal principle, without the knowledge of which every speculation upon government must be imperfect, and every scheme of a commonwealth essentially defective: taking this fundamental principle along with us, let us give an abridgment of this valuable discourse. “ The reason why Florence has so often changed its form of government is, because there never was yet either a commonwealth or monarchy established there upon true principles: a monarchy cannot be stable, where the business, which should be directed by one, is submitted to the determination of many; nor can a commonwealth be durable where humours are not gratified, which must otherwise be the ruin of it.—Maso moulded the republic into a sort of aristocracy,

cracy, vid. Hist. of Florence, b. iii. in which there were so many defects, that it did not continue above forty years, nor would it have lasted so long but for wars, which kept it united. The defects were, that power was continued too long in the same persons; that the elections were subject to fraud and underhand practices: there was no check upon the grandees, to deter them from forming parties and factions, which generally are the destruction of a state: the signori had but little reputation, while they had too much authority; they had a power of taking away the life and property of any citizen without appeal, and of calling the people together to a conference whenever they pleased; so that instead of being a defence and protection to the state, they were rather an instrument of its ruin, when they were under the influence of any popular or ambitious man: raw young men, of little experience and abject condition, were introduced into the signori; but what was of the last consequence was, that *the people had no share at all in the government.* All these defects together occasioned infinite disorder and confusion, and if wars had not kept the state united, it must have been dissolved long before it was.—This form was succeeded by that of Cosimo. Afterwards the city endeavoured to resume the form of a republic, but the measures taken were neither calculated to gratify the humours of all the citizens, nor had sufficient force to correct them: so far from being a true and perfect commonwealth, a standard-bearer for life, if an able and bad man, might easily have made himself absolute lord; if a weak and good man, he might have been pulled from his seat, and that establishment overturned. There was not strength

in that government to support the standard-bearer, if a good man, nor to check and controul him, if a bad one. The reforms which were made were not with any view to the public good, but to strengthen and support different factions in their turns. The ends of faction even were not answered, because there was always a discontented party, which proved a very powerful instrument in the hands of those that were desirous to effect any change or innovation in the state. No form of government can be devised that will be firm and lasting, which is not either a true principality, or a true commonwealth. All intermediate forms between these two extremes will be defective; for a principality can only be ruined one way, and that is by descending into a commonwealth: the same may be said of a commonwealth also; for the only way by which it can be ruined is by ascending to a principality: whereas all intermediate forms may be ruined two ways, i. e. either by ascending to a principality, or descending into a commonwealth; and this is the cause of their instability. Those who model a commonwealth must take such provisions as may gratify three sorts of men, of which all states are composed, that is, the high, the middle sort, and the low; and though there is a great equality among the citizens of Florence, yet there are some there, who think so highly of themselves, that they would expect to have the precedence of others; and these people must be gratified in regulating the commonwealth. These people then will never be satisfied, if they have not the first rank and honours in the commonwealth, which dignity they ought to support by their own personal weight and importance. It is absolutely necessary to gratify the ambition of all the three several

veral ranks of people; which may be done by electing sixty-five citizens, of not less than forty-five years of age, in order to give dignity to the government, fifty-three out of the highest class, and twelve out of the next, who should continue in the administration for life, subject to the following restrictions:—In the first place, one of them should be appointed standard-bearer of justice, for a term of two or three years, if it is not thought proper to appoint one for life: and in the next, the other sixty-four citizens, already elected, should be divided into two distinct bodies, each consisting of thirty-two; one of which divisions, in conjunction with the standard-bearer, should govern the first year, and the other the next; so that they would be changed alternately every year, and all together should be called the signori. After this, let the thirty-two be divided into four parts, eight in each; every one of which should reside three months in its turn with the standard-bearer, in the palace, and not only assume the magistracy with the usual forms and ceremonies, but transact all the business which before passed through the hands of the signori, the council of eight, and the other councils, all which must be dissolved. This should be the first member, or rather the head of the state, and by this provision the dignity of the signori will be restored; for as none but men of gravity and authority will ever sit there, it will be no longer necessary to employ private men in the affairs of state (which is always of prejudice to any republic) since the thirty-two who are not in office that year may be advised with upon occasion, sent upon embassies, and made useful in other functions.—Let us now come to the second order in the state. Since there are three orders of men in every state, there should also be three

ranks or degrees in a republic, and no more ; upon which account it is necessary, to prevent the confusion occasioned of late by the multiplicity of councils in our city, which have been established, not because they were conducive to good order, but merely to create friends and dependants, and to gratify the humour and ambition of numbers, in a point which yet was of no service to liberty or the public, because they might all be corrupted and biassed by party. The council of seventy, that of an hundred, and that of the people and commonalty, should all be abolished; and, in the room of them, I would appoint a council of two hundred, every member of which should be not less than forty years of age; an hundred and sixty of them to be taken out of the middle class, and the other forty out of the lowest, but not one out of the sixty-five. They should also continue for life, and be called the council elect; which council, in conjunction with the sixty-five, should transact all the affairs that used to be transacted by the above-mentioned councils, now supposed to be abolished, and vested with the same degree of authority, and all the members of it appointed by your holiness: for which purpose, as well as to maintain and regulate these provisions, and others that I shall mention hereafter, it is necessary that a degree of authority, equal to that of the whole collective body of the people of Florence, should be vested by a balia in your holiness, and the cardinal de Medici, during the lives of both; and that the magistracy of the eight di guardia, as well as the balia, should be appointed from time to time by your holiness. It is likewise expedient, for the support of your authority, that your holiness should divide the militia into distinct corps, over which  
you

you may appoint two commissioners, one for each. By these provisions two out of the three classes may be thoroughly satisfied.—It remains now to satisfy the third and lowest rank of the citizens, which constitutes the greater part of the people. For this purpose it will be necessary also to revive the council of a thousand, or at least one of six hundred citizens, who should nominate all the magistrates and officers, in the same manner they used to do formerly, except the above sixty-five, the council of two hundred, the eight di guardia, and the balia. Without satisfying the common people, no republic ever yet stood upon a stable foundation.—The state being thus modelled, no other provisions would be wanting, if your holiness and the cardinal were to live for ever; but as you are subject to mortality, it is necessary, if you would have the republic continue firm and strongly supported on every side, in such manner that every one may see himself perfectly secure, that there should be sixteen standard-bearers appointed over the companies of the citizens, which may be done either by your own authority, or by leaving the appointment to the great council, remembering only to increase the number of the divieri, assistants to the gonfalonier and commanding detachments of the people under him, that so they may be more spread over the city, and that none of the gonfaloniers should be of the sixty-five. After their appointment, four prévôts should be drawn out of them by lot, and continue in office one month; so that at the end of four months they will all have been prévôts. Out of these four, one should be drawn, to reside for a week only with the eight signiors and the gonfaloniers in the palace; by which rotation all the four will have kept their residence there at the end of the month.



Without the presence of this officer, the said resident signori should not be allowed to pass any act ; nor should he himself have any vote there, but only be a witness and inspector of their proceedings, to which he may be suffered to put a stop till he has asked the opinion of all the thirty-two together, and had the matter fully discussed by them. But even the thirty-two, when all together, should not have power to resolve upon any thing, except two of the said prévôts were present, who should have no further authority than to put a stop to their resolutions for a time, and report them to the council elect : nor should that council have a power of resolving upon any thing, except six at least of the sixteen gonfaloniers, and two prévôts, were there, who should only have the liberty of taking the matter out of the hands of that council, and referring it to the great council, provided that any three of them should think it necessary so to do ; and as to the great council, it should not be allowed to meet, unless three of the prévôts at least were there, who might give their votes in it like the other citizens. This order should be observed after the death of your holiness and the cardinal, for two reasons : In the first place, that if the signori, or other council, should either disagree in their resolutions, or attempt any thing against the public good, there might be somebody vested with a power to take the matter out of their hands, and refer it to the people ; for *it would be a great defect in the constitution, that any one set of magistrates, or single council, should have a power to pass a law by its own authority alone, and that too without any remedy or appeal* : upon which account it is highly necessary, that the citizens should have some proper officers, not only to inspect their proceedings, but

but even to put a stop to them, if they seem to be of pernicious tendency.

“ Besides this, in order to give such a degree of stability and perfection to the commonwealth, that no part of it may shrink or fail after the decease of your holiness and the cardinal, it is necessary that a court should be erected upon occasion, consisting of the eight di guardia and a balia of thirty citizens, to be chosen by lot out of the council of two hundred, and that of six hundred together; which court should have a power, in criminal cases, of summoning the accuser and accused to appear face to face before it in a certain time. Such a court is of great use in a commonwealth; for a few citizens are afraid to call great and powerful delinquents to account, and therefore it is necessary that many should concur for that purpose, that so, when their judgments are concealed, as they may be by ballotting, every man may give his opinion freely and in security. The highest honour that can be attained to by any man, is that which is voluntarily conferred on him by his countrymen; and the greatest good he can do, as well as the most acceptable to God, is that which he does to his country. None are to be compared to those who have reformed kingdoms and commonwealths by wholesome laws and constitutions; but as there have been but few that have had an opportunity to do this, the number is very small that have done it. This kind of glory has always been so much coveted by such as made glory the sole end of their labours, that when they have not had power either to found or reform a state, they have left models and plans in writing, to be executed by others, who should have, in future times; as Plato, Aristotle, and many others, who have shewn, that if they did not found free  
states

states themselves, like Solon and Lycurgus, it was not owing either to ignorance or want of goodwill to mankind, but to want of power. Heaven then cannot bestow a nobler gift upon any man, nor point out a fairer road to true glory.

“ If things continue as they are, whenever any commotion or insurrection shall happen, either some head will be appointed in a sudden and tumultuary manner, who will rescue the state by violence and force of arms, or one part of the citizens will open the council of a thousand again, and sacrifice the other without mercy. In case either of these events should happen, your holiness will be pleased to consider how many executions, how many banishments and confiscations must of necessity ensue: a reflection which must surely shock the most hard-hearted man alive, much more a man of that remarkable humanity and tenderness which have always distinguished your holiness. The only way then to prevent these evils, is to establish the several classes and ordinances of the commonwealth in such a manner that they may support themselves; and that they will always be able to do, when each rank has its due share in the administration, when every one knows his proper sphere of action, and whom he can confide in; and lastly, when no one has any occasion to wish for a change of government, either because his ambition is not thoroughly gratified, or that he does not think himself sufficiently secure under such an administration.”

## L E T T E R III.

S I E N A.

Dear Sir,

**T**HE antiquity of the city of Siena is proved by the notice of Pliny, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, if not by another circumstance mentioned by its historian, viz. the splendor of certain families among its citizens\*, nobility being only an ancient virtue accompanied with the splendor of riches. The tradition, that it was first planted by Remus, can hardly be supported by the single circumstance, that the ensigns of the city are a wolf giving suck to two infants.

Siena was built by the ancient Tuscans, whose province was anciently inhabited by the Umbrians, who were driven out by the Pelasgians from Arcadia, who were afterwards driven out by the Lydians from Asia, five hundred and sixty years before Rome was built. These, from Tirrhenus their king, were called afterwards Tirrhenians; and because they used in their sacrifices great quantities of frankincense, *Thus*, they were called Thuscans, and their country Tuscany, by others called Etruria†. Livy represents the Etrurians as abounding in wealth, and filling the whole length of Italy, from the Alps to the straits of Sicily, with their fame; and in another place, represents the Tuscan empire as much more ancient than the Roman‡. They inhabited

\* Siena dallo splendore delle famiglie s'era nobilitata,—essendo proprio la nobiltà una antica virtù accompagnata dallo splendore delle ricchezze. Historia del. Sig. Orlando Malavolti, de fatti, e Guerre de' Sanesi, così eterne, come civili, p. 4.

† Malavolti, p. 9, 10.

‡ Tuscorum, ante Romanorum imperium late terra, marique opes patuere, mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia, insulæ modo cingitur.—li in verumque mare vergentes incaluere urbibus duodenis.

twelve cities: the form of their government was a confederacy, like that of the modern Swifs, Dutch, and Americans. The twelve cities, peoples, or divisions of territory rather, were called Lucumoni, from the magistrates annually chosen to govern the whole province of Tuscany. Twelve annual magistrates were chosen, one by each city, to govern the whole province, called Lartes and Lucumones: the names of these cities were LUNA, PISA, POPULONIA, VOLTERRA, ROSELLE, FIESOLE, AGILLINA, VULFINO, CHIUCI, AREZZO, PERUGIA, and FALERIA, the ruins of which are near to Viterbo. In the same manner was formed afterwards, by the Greeks, the republic of the Achæians, the twelve cities of which are enumerated by Polybius. Not unlike this republic of the Tuscans was that of the Latins, who, upon public occasions, assembled in a certain place under mount Albanus, called the Forest of Ferentina; where, having deliberated in council upon their affairs, they gave the charge of the execution of their resolutions to two prætors\*. It is true that sometimes, at the exchange of magistrates, the Tuscans, varying the form of their government, by agreement among themselves created a king; and each one of the twelve peoples of the twelve principal cities concurred to give him a minister, whom the Romans afterwards denominated a licitor: and of so much grandeur, and so illustrious an example, were the government, the ceremonies, the religion, and the other qualities of the Tuscans, that Romulus, in imitation of them, in giving laws to the Romans

\* Concilium Latinorum erat ut omnes Latini nominis rerum communium causa ad Lucum Ferentinæ, qui erat sub monte Albano, coirent, ibique, de summa rep. consultarent, ac duobus prætoribus rem universam Latinorum committerent. Sigonius, upon the authority of Dionysius.

ordained,

ordained, besides the habit of the robe and the cloak, the curule chair, and the same number of ministers, determining upon the same number of lictors. This is told us by Livy: “*Et hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis unde sella curulis, unde toga, prætexta sumpta est, numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet, et ita habuisse Etruscis, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.*” With this mode of regimen, and this form of government, with their union and virtue, the Tuscans augmented so greatly their empire, that it extended to the Alps, which separate Italy from France, and from one sea to the other; one of which was named from them the Tuscan, and the other the Adriatic, from the city Adria, which was their colony, and under their dominion. Having acquired all that part of Italy, which was afterwards called Cisalpine Gaul, in order to hold it more securely, and give room to their people, by relieving Tuscany of so great a number of inhabitants, they sent into it twelve colonies. In this manner they proceeded, augmenting and amplifying their empire on every side, for seven hundred and thirty years, until, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the Gauls took possession of that part of Italy, which they called Cisalpine Gaul, one part of which was afterwards called Lombardy, and the other Romagna. Then began to decline the empire of the Tuscans; because on one side they were combated by the Gauls, and on the other by the Romans; and having commenced, by the abundance of wealth, to become ambitious and avaricious, and discord among themselves following the train of those vices, changed the form of their government, and destroyed their prosperity; and this empire, which, by its union and good order, had



had formed itself, and, computing from its beginning to its dissolution, subsisted more than a thousand years, lost itself easily by means of contentions, occasioned by habits inconsistent with that virtue by which they had acquired it. Their state, dispossessed by the Gauls of all its territory beyond the Apennines, and continually molested in Tuscany by the Romans, was no longer united in the defence of each other, by reason of the variety which they begun to introduce into the form of government in the separate cities, occasioned by their ambition, avarice, and luxury ; vices inconsistent with each other, but very powerful to ruin a great empire. When they saw the most manifest danger of the ruin of the whole, they exerted all their force, but were no longer able to defend themselves. The other Tuscans, from an indignation against the Veientes for having separately elected a king, looked on with indifference while the Romans subjected that people. Livy says, the Veientes, to avoid the tedious contentions of ambition, which was sometimes the cause of dissensions, created a king, and thus gave great offence to the other peoples of Etruria, not more by their hatred of that form of government, than from their detestation of the man \*.

Tuscany was finally subjected to the dominion of the Romans, after long wars, many victories and defeats, and the destruction of a great number of their citizens, by Q. Fabius Maximus Rutilianus. The Romans, to secure the province against rebellions and tumults, sent into it a colony ; and finding Siena in the centre of the twelve

\* Veientes contra tedio ambitionis, quæ interdum causa discordiarum erat, regem creavere, offendit ea res populorum Etruriæ animos, non majore odio regni, quam ipsius regis. Livy.

cities, and the situation strong, sent thither their colony and garrison, under the first consulate of Curius Dentatus, two hundred and ninety years before Christ. The Tuscans remained quietly under the government of the Romans, until the invasion of Italy by Asdrubal, when they were accused of having held a secret correspondence, and given assistance to the Carthaginians. After that great victory of the Romans, in which Asdrubal, with fifty-six thousand of his men, was slain, they sent Marcus Livius to Tuscany, to enquire which of the peoples of the twelve cities had assisted the Carthaginians, who reported, that he found nothing against any of the inhabitants of Siena. Tranquillity thus restored, continued under the Roman government till the social war, when the inhabitants of almost all Italy waged war with the Romans for the privileges of Roman citizens. This war cost the lives of an incredible number of men, and ended with the ruin of Arezzo and Chiuci, two of the principal cities of Tuscany, from whence many families removed to Siena, as a place of more security, both on account of its being a Roman colony, and as it had ever discovered more fidelity to the Romans than any other Tuscan city. We may pass over the conversion of Constantine, in a dream of a standard (gonfalone), with the motto *ἐν τούτῳ νίκη*; his division of the empire, by retiring to Byzantium, into two, the Græcian and Roman, or Eastern and Western; the decline of the western empire; the capture of Rome by Alaric king of the Goths, in 412; the sacking of Rome by Odoacer king of the Erulians and Thuringians, in 475, the first of the barbarous kings, who drove out Augustulus, annihilated the empire, and made himself king of Italy, and so established his power, that the western empire remained

412.

475.

566.

remained vacant for three hundred years, till the time of Charlemain, though Justin, after the victories of Bellisarius and Narsette over the Goths, sent Longinus into Italy with the title of exarch, a kind of first magistrate, which continued one hundred and seventy years, through a succession of thirteen exarchs. Longinus having found that the several cities had undertaken to govern themselves, each one having created its own magistrates, sent a governor, appointed by himself, not to rule generally in the province, but one in each city of any considerable consequence. To these governors he gave a new name, that of dukes. The first that he sent to Rome was called a president, but those who succeeded him were called dukes like the rest. This title of duke, from the name of a military office, was reduced to the name of a dignity, which, at this day, is the principal one in Europe after the royal dignity. And thus, all the time that Narsette remained in Rome, after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths, the cities of Tuscany governed themselves by their own magistrates, acknowledging no superior, until the arrival of Longinus in 566, who, with his new governors or dukes, debilitated the forces, and destroyed the reputation of the empire, and the confidence of the people in their own militia, to such a degree, that the Longobards, under Albinus their king, found it easy to ruin Tuscany, which they conquered, plundered, and oppressed, sometimes by the general power of their kings, and sometimes their dukes, sent to command in particular cities. These Lombards, from their proud hatred of the Romans, endeavoured every where to change the laws, customs, manners, and especially the language: in their time the Latin language in Italy was corrupted into that speech which

which is now called the Italian, which is no other than the Latin corrupted by a mixture of the barbarous speech of those very Lombards, and some other nations, who after them governed in Italy; as the French and Spanish are similar corruptions of the Latin, the first by a mixture with the language of the Franks, and the last of the Visigoths and other barbarians. The Lombards held the domination of the major part of Italy more than two hundred years, when they were totally subdued. Desiderius, who had been duke of Tuscany, and afterwards made king of Italy, was the last Lombard king, and was totally defeated, and sent prisoner to Lyons in France, by Charlemain, in 773. This great monarch having taken Pavia, which was the principal city and royal residence of the kings of the Lombards, proceeded to many other strong places, which were held by governors of castles and garrisons in the service of the king, or of particular lords of these places; those which surrendered, and swore obedience, were left under the command of their lords, but those which resisted, and were reduced by force, were given by Charlemain to some of his barons or nobles, in reward of the services, virtues, and merits they had shewn in the course of the war. More of the cities of Tuscany defended themselves than of any other parts of Italy, because they were better fortified, and therefore more French noblemen were planted here: these marrying with original families in Siena, from those matches have issued the greatest part of the noble families which have been, and still are, in that city. They continued afterwards, many hundreds of years, to be lords of the same castles, until, by continual discords, many families not only lost their estates and commands, but became extinct, as will be

773.

shewn in the sequel. Charles, for the greatness of his soul, and the multitude of his victories, received the surname of Magnus, and was made Roman emperor. As Longinus had brought into Italy the title of dukes, the Lombards those of marquises and castaldi or bailiffs, the French now imported that of counts. Charlemain having arranged all things to his mind in Italy, set out on his journey to return; and passing through Siena, and being moved with the relation which he heard from those noblemen whom he had left there, of the fidelity and other good qualities of that people, and being touched also by their petitions, he made them free, and determined that they should not be subjected to the king, or any other power. This is the reason, that in the division of Tuscany, afterwards made between Louis the Pious and Paschal the pope, in which it was declared that Arezzo, Chiuli, Volterra, Florence, Pistoia, Lucca, Pisa, and Luna, should be reserved to the emperor, and Orvieto, Bagnarea, Viterbo, Sovana, Populonia, Rosella, Perugia, Sutri, and Nepi, should belong to the ecclesiastical state, that Siena is not found among the former or the latter: being free and independent, it was left in the enjoyment of its liberty; and as the nobles had procured from Charlemain so great a favour, the people, in gratitude to them, and ignorant no doubt of any better form, left the government to them, and suffered an optimacy to be established. Siena was a long time governed by these noblemen, and, as long as the signori consisted of these successors of Charlemain in Italy and the empire, all remained quiet in this city, as well as in the rest of Italy. This tranquillity continued to the time of Arnulphus, the last emperor of the house of France, who was approved by the pope.

At



At this time ambition, discontent, and ill humour, began to arise in Italy, from the weakness of the successors of Charlemain; and Berengarius duke of Friuli, and Guido duke of Spoletta, aspiring at the empire and the kingdom of Italy, took arms against the emperor; and Berengarius succeeded, declared himself emperor, and, by the favour of the Roman people, was made king of Italy; in which dignities he was succeeded by Berengarius the Second and the Third. A contest, however, arose between the princes of Italy, France, and Germany, for the empire and the kingdom of Italy, which continued sixty years; and a Saracen invasion having been defeated by Albericus, he was declared by the pope duke of Tuscany, and acknowledged no superiority in the emperor, or France. Contentions soon arose between him and the pope; and the Hungarians taking advantage of them, made inroads into Italy, plundered Tuscany, and ruined Volterra. The Romans, judging this calamity to proceed from the discords between the pope and Albericus, assassinated both. Such was the malignity of these times, and Christian princes had deviated so far from a virtuous conduct, and became a prey to ambition, avarice, and pleasure (powerful ministers at all times of every kind of wickedness), that determined, by means even of their vices, and with the highest impudence, to occupy those dignities which their ancestors had acquired by religion, charity, and every Christian virtue, they devoted themselves to continual discords and bloody wars among themselves; and the people, after their example, having adopted their follies and vices, and embroiled themselves in the same dissensions, found themselves ruined: for, having neither forces nor virtues to defend their country, the Hungarians



committed, in a short space of time, greater ravages in Tuscany than the other barbarous nations had been able to do in 300 years. The Saracens too, or Moors, broke in and destroyed the sea coast of Siena, took Jerusalem and Spain, until they were defeated by Charles Martel in Italy, in 930, and by Ferdinand the Third in Spain, in 1216. The city of Rosella was ruined by the Saracens, and its inhabitants fled to Siena, which made it necessary to enlarge the bounds of the city, and take in the ancient castle Montone, built at the time of the king Porfenna of Chiusi, who, desirous of assisting Tarquin the Proud in his restoration to Rome, sent to his aid two hundred infantry, and fifty cavalry; the former, taken from the castle Montone, were commanded by Bacco Piccolomo; and the latter, taken from the Old Castle, by Perinto Cacciaconte: from these two captains are descended the two most ancient families in Siena, those of the Piccolomini, and those of the Cacciaconti. Otho, the first emperor of the German nation, but the second of that name, expelled the last of the Saracens, and left an officer in Tuscany, who governed it in his name with the title of vicar of the empire.

The successors of Otho followed the same practice; but Siena, by the indulgence of Otho, maintained its independence under the government of its nobles, and its liberty was afterwards, by Otho the Third of the German nation, who had been served in his enterprise by a company of gentlemen from Siena, confirmed with ample privileges, and presented with a new ensign of the white lion. Both the first and the third Otho left many of their gentlemen in Siena, from whom are descended several of the noble and powerful families in that city,

city, where they supported themselves a long time, behaving virtuously and honourably in the service of their country. All the inhabitants of the city and territory, living then in union and harmony, were comprehended under the name of the People, which has since, from a general denomination, become a particular and peculiar name of a faction called Popolo, the citizens being divided into parties. Although the body of the city increased on every side, both in numbers and riches, it was nevertheless unable to enlarge its boundaries or extend its jurisdiction: for having on one hand the lands of the church, and on the other the territories of the emperor, it could not go beyond its own limits. At this time were introduced much industry, and many artificers, in consequence of an extensive commerce. Besides other noblemen, the count Bandinello de Bandinelli, having agents and correspondents in many parts of the Levant, imported large merchandises, to his own great profit as well as the public utility, employing and maintaining a multitude of people in every kind of labour, and was in a great measure the instrument of directing this people to merchandise. The same count Bandinello, moreover, being consul, and desirous of displaying the consular dignity and authority, gave orders that two commanders, or officers, on all occasions of solemnity or ceremony, should go before the consuls, with those maces in their hands, and those fringes at their breasts, after the similitude of the lictors, who walked with their bundles of rods and with their axes before the consuls of Rome. He also ordered, that to the trumpets should be fixed those streamers of white and black taffety, which have been ever since used by all the supreme magistrates who have succeeded in the place of the consuls, and as the

ffers and trumpeters, with the rest of the family and servants of the magistrate, in modern times, in the public palace, are cloathed in blue and green.

1059.

About the year 1059 contentions arose between the emperor Henry the Third, and the pope, who decreed him an enemy to the church, and interdicted him his empire and kingdom; which quarrel was the reason that the cities of Tuscany began to be agitated with seditions, some of them declaring in favour of the emperor, and others, rebelling against him, reduced themselves to republican governments, and attached themselves to the pope, hoping by his assistance to defend themselves against the emperor, who would have oppressed them. From this division originated the desire in the minds of the people to increase their forces, that they might the more easily resist the emperor if he should invade Tuscany with a design of reducing them to his obedience. To this end every city and castle endeavoured to make itself master of those in its neighbourhood, or at least to draw them to its alliance, which involved them in frequent wars, and was the original of those discords and enmities with which many cities of Tuscany were long agitated, and which proved the ruin of some, though it augmented the greatness of others. The Italians having remained long under the obedience of the German emperors, and having very rarely been employed in their wars, either by them or their captains, neglected, in so long and inactive a kind of servitude, the regulations of their militia: but now, in danger of oppression from Conrad the First, the cities, in order to defend themselves, ordered a kind of chariot to be built, and called it The Triumphal Chariot, covered with rose-coloured cloth, with a large spear

spear in the centre, on which was displayed a white standard, with two scarlet stripes, in a cross, at the middle of it; and on every side of the carriage stood a man, who held in his hand a cord fastened to the top of the spear, that neither the force of the wind nor the weight of the standard might incline one way or another. The chariot was drawn by oxen covered with white, although they varied the colours according to the prevalence of factions in the city. The care and command of this chariot was given to one of the most experience and ability in war, who became their captain; and to him, for the purpose of increasing his authority, was given by the public a shield and a sword. But in the times which followed after the emperor Frederick the First, this office was called *podesta*\*; and he was accompanied with eight trumpets, and one priest. In this manner the cities of Lombardy, as well as Tuscany, sent out their people to war, without entertaining any soldiers in pay: for those who were ordered out to war in those times, in Italy, went at their own expence, so great was their affection to their country, as in the beginning the Romans did; wherever the triumphal chariot was found, there were the head quarters of the captain, like the prætors among the ancients. With this manner of making war, confiding in the power of the faction they followed, and living by plunder, each city was ambitious, by force and by fraud, to increase its dominion, and declined no opportunity which occurred of opposing themselves obstinately to the most powerful princes and veteran armies, for the defence of their own dignity, and

\* The Italian writers in Latin call this office and officer, both, by the name of *potestas*.

that of the party to which they were devoted, Deriving from these motives, and from successful enterprises, great courage and ardour, when Henry the Third, with his antipope, besieged Gregory the Seventh in his castle, and, for fear of Robert Guiscard on his march to succour the pope, retired to Siena, Florence took the part of the pope, and Siena that of the emperor, and from this principle arose that irreconcilable hatred and enmity between these cities, which lasted so long, and produced so much war and bloodshed. Upon this occasion a memorable battle was fought, and a signal victory obtained, by the army of Siena over that of Florence. Certain persons in this engagement had been the first to begin the action, and behaved themselves so bravely in it, that it was adjudged that their conduct had been the principal cause of putting to flight the Florentines. The republic, in reward of their merit, and to incite and inflame by this example the minds of others to act nobly in the service of their country, erected, by a public decree, a very high tower by the sides of their houses. The Greeks and Romans used to honour, by decreeing statues to those who performed similar achievements in the service of the republic, rendering by this means their memories immortal; and they were more or less honoured according to the position in which the statue was placed, and the height and grandeur of the statue itself: wherefore they made some larger, and others smaller; some on horseback, others on the ground; and to make the glory of others still more illustrious, they fought the most eminent artists, and placed the statues on columns\*, know-

\* Columnarum ratio erat attolli supra cæteros mortales.

Pliny.



ing that columns, anciently dedicated to men, were marks of honour, and conspicuous tokens of immortal glory;—and moved by those ancient examples, those who governed the city of Siena having, by the long domination of the barbarians in Italy, lost the arts of sculpture and painting, which were held in so high estimation by the ancients, as well as by the modern civilized nations, and not being able, for want of artists, to make statues or columns to honour these brave and virtuous citizens, ordered those towers to be built. After which precedent, for similar merits and services, afterwards many others were erected; among which was built by the public that of the Malavolti, in memory of the virtue of Philip Malavolti, captain of Siena in the Christian army of Clement the Third. This, like many others which had been raised before, was habitable; and although they were erected only as memorials of the honour due to greatness of soul, they were employed very often afterwards as fortifications for offence and defence, by the several parties, in their civil wars; and permission was afterwards granted by the public, to many gentlemen, to build towers at their own expence, as testimonials of the nobility and splendor of their families: and, until long afterwards they were taken down by order of Charles the Fifth, and the materials employed in a castle which that tyrant built for himself, they were so large and so high, as to be seen from a great distance, and made a most beautiful appearance.—

In the union of the Christian princes, in 1099, 1099. against the Saracens, and in the army engaged in the enterprize against Jerusalem, the city of Siena had a thousand men, under the command of Dominick and Boniface Gricci, noblemen of Siena. Henry the Fourth, after the death of Henry the Third,



1100. Third; coming to Rome for the crown, in 1100, and renewing the discords with the pope Pascal the Second, and Gelasius his successor, and marching to Rome with his armies, excited afresh the ill humours in Tuscany: but these not having much energy, did not at that time produce effects of much moment; yet, stirred up from time to time by the discords among the great princes, and other accidents, though they seemed at times to be quieted, they broke out again, and were never wholly extinguished; they rather proceeded to increase, and at last discovering themselves with greater malignity, they grew, from particular disputes between one city and another, to the most general and sanguinary factions of all, or the greatest part of the territory of Tuscany, and all the rest of Italy, making alliance among one another of those who were of the same faction, against other leagues among the factions who were their enemies. One party having taken the name of Guelphs, and the other of Ghibellines, these parties and divisions were not only between one people and another, but, to complete the ruin and destruction, they entered into the same city, and sometimes into the same family, till there was not a spot of earth to be found whose inhabitants were not divided, and on which the citizens did not frequently meet in arms against each other; as it happened in 1137, and
1147. in 1147, between the noble houses in Siena, in which private interests and party affections had infinitely more energy than those of the public. Although the nobles had so long governed and preserved this republic in peace, now blinded by ambition, they most imprudently suffered themselves to be led by it. These civil discords having entered, and being increased and artificially fomented

mented by the heads of those plebeians who had attached themselves, some to one nobleman and some to another, in the city, they began by violence to endeavour to expel one another alternately from the city\*. By this means, coming frequently to blows, and meeting often in arms, they gave occasion to the plebeians, who wished for nothing so much, to study the means, by little and little, of taking the government out of their hands, in the firm hope of being able to obtain it to themselves, if not entirely, at least in part; for the gentlemen being in arms, and each party afraid of being overcome by the other, strove to acquire friends and adherents among the plebeians, whom by a more decent appellation they now called the People. That they might be able, with stronger forces, to conquer their enemies, or at least secure themselves from being conquered by them, neither party was willing, by refusing the people a share in the government, to make them their enemies. They agreed therefore to give them a third part: wherefore, when they first appointed two consuls of noble houses, who should annually govern the republic, it was ordained, that for the future they should appoint three, two of them to be noblemen taken from each faction, and the third from the people; and sometimes they made the number six, observing the same distribution: and this is the reason why many persons have believed that certain families, which at this day are of the order of the nine†, finding that their ancestors were made consuls in those times, were originally noble, and that their ancestors were of the order of gentlemen, not knowing that the people,

\* Plebs est cæteri cives sine senatore. De Verb. Signif.

† Dell ordine de nove.

from

1137.

from whom the order of nine had their original, participated at that time, by a third part, in the government, and that from some of those popular families, who held at that time the consulate, are descended those of the nine. The nobles, who at this day are denominated in Siena gentlemen, and who anciently, being very powerful, were sometimes called *grandeas*, are sprung from a part of those ancient families, who in the first institution and ordination of the republic took upon them the government, which, with large additions to the city and its dominions, they held till the year 1137, when the plebeians, or more properly the people, first began to enter into a share of the government of the state and police of the city: by this means, although those who had been in public offices and dignities had acquired nobility to their descendants, they had not however assumed the name of nobles or of gentlemen. Although in Siena, as well as in all the other cities of Tuscany, the factions of the nobles and the people long prevailed, they followed, as the most favourable and least invidious, the name of popular: and thus, leaving uncorrupted the ancient nobility, perhaps to avoid the distinction of greater and lesser nobility, like that of nobles and patricians among the Romans, applying themselves to their factions, by the orders of which, at different times, they began to create nobles, the people in process of time divided themselves into three parties, one of which was called the people of the smaller number, who were those of the order of the nine; the second, the people of the middle number, who were called the order of the twelve; and the third, the people of the greater number, who were called the order

order of reformers, who, as all the lesser people \* concurred, with some of the ancient houses, under this denomination, were the most numerous, as will be largely-shewn in its proper place. After these three popular factions, were created, out of those who were afterwards accepted into the government, and acquired the civil rights, together with those few houses who would not follow the above-named factions, another order, which was called the order of the people; and these, however they have been ennobled, took the name of no other faction but the popular: as anciently in Rome it happened, that the patricians and ancient nobles had always the name of nobles, and the plebeians, so called by the Romans, although they had been consuls and dictators, and had enjoyed triumphs, were for ever called plebeians, until by Julius Cæsar, Augustus, and Claudius, the emperors, some families were added to the number of patricians. The greater part of the families of nobles, who by Romulus were denominated the greater race, and of those who were added by Tarquinius Priscus, and were afterwards by Lucius Brutus called the lesser race, being already extinguished, this distinction was preserved in the Roman senate, where the fathers were understood to be those who were of patrician houses, and fathers conscript those who had been added and recorded in the number of senators; and thus sometimes plebeians, by concessions of princes, acquired the name of nobles. These orders were in all respects contrary to those which were used at this time in the cities of Tuscany, which, being governed by the multitude, did not admit the

\* Il popolo minuto.

nobles to honours, nor to the administration of the republic, if, first renouncing their nobility, they did not acquire the privilege of being of the people; such was in that age the odium against the name of nobles among those who governed the republics of Tuscany, from the jealousy and terror that were entertained of their greatness: and this we may well suppose was the great reason why those first popular characters, and the others who followed after them, did not care to acquire the name of noblemen or gentlemen; on the contrary they exerted themselves with all diligence, by the laws and by all their actions, by extermination and destruction of one family after another, to destroy totally the memory of all the noble houses of the gentlemen, in such manner that the greatest part of them are extinguished. Among the few that remained were the Bisdomini, the Tegolei, the Floridi, who were original inhabitants of the city, and lived in that third part of it which was called the Old Castle, with many other noble families which are enumerated. In another third part of the city, named the Third of Saint Martin, inhabited the noble families of Jazzani, Trombetti, Guastelloni, Sanfedonii, and others: in the remaining third, called the third of Camullia, lived the Gallerani, Scricciuoli, Arzochii, Mignanelli, &c. There was another distinction of five families, who were counts, and lived indifferently in any part of the town, who were called the greater houses, as the counts Ardengheschi, Guiglieschi, Scialenga, Cacciaconti, and Valcorrese. There were other families who, because very numerous, had the privilege of having two members from each family in the magistracy, while the other could have but one, as the Piccolomini, Tolommei, Malavolti, Salembeni, and Saraceni;



Saraceni; and in the same proportion they might have seats in the council of a hundred gentlemen, to whom were added, in this reform of the state, fifty popular members. This council was renewed once in two years, and sometimes every year; and was elected by the general council, one member from each family, with ample authority. In this council, which was to assemble at least once a month, they consulted of all affairs of the most serious nature and the greatest importance. Under this form of government Siena continued for some time, and following the imperial party, they meditated to possess themselves of the castle of Radicofani, then possessed by the church, pretending that it had been given to the bishop and people of Siena by the count Manente di Viconti di Campiglia, before 1138; but this expedition failed. In this year the inhabitants of Siena and Aretini united with Conti Guidi, whose castle of Monte alla Croce they relieved from a siege of the Florentines. The Conti Guidi were lords of many castles in Casentino, and one part of Valdarno, and had been decorated with the title of counts by Otho the emperor, after he had liberated Italy from the lordship of Berengarius the Third, when one of the family who came with him from Germany married a lady of Florence, from which marriage descended the house of Conti Guidi. We may pass over the bloody wars and variety of victories and defeats between these two cities of Siena and Florence; but when Frederick Barbarossa came into Italy they made a truce, and new laws and confederations were made between the people of Tuscany. The Florentines, Lucchese, Pratinians, and lords of Carragna, entered into one league; and the inhabitants of Siena, Pisa, Pistoia, and Aretina, and the Conti Guidi,

into

1138.



- into another : and because the Sieneſe had ſhewn themſelves, in the diſſenſions which had happened in times paſt between the popes and the emperors, favourable to the empire, the pope Adrian, attentive to the arrival of Frederick, with much ſolicitude completed the fortrefs, and part of the
1154. walls of the territory of Radicofani. In 1154 Frederick was crowned at Rome, after long diſputes with the Romans, and returned to Germany
1155. in 1155. The Sieneſe, by the ſimilitude of affections, being of the ſame faction, acquired a ju- riſdiction over Poggibonzi, an eighth part of which caſtle had been given them by the count Guido Guerra. This caſtle was afterwards, in 1268, taken by Charles king of Naples, and given to the Florentines, and by them demolished, as always friendly or ſubject to the Sieneſe, and a receptacle of Ghibellines.
1158. In 1158 Frederick came a ſecond time into Italy. The Sieneſe, being in difference with the count of Orgia, and other lords their neighbours, who held many ſtrong caſtles very near to Siena, ſome of which were demolished by the Sieneſe, the lords of theſe caſtles were deſirous of rebuilding them ; but Frederick granted to the Sieneſe the privilege, that neither thoſe counts, nor any other lords, nor their ſucceſſors, ſhould rebuild any caſtle, or fortrefs, within twelve miles of their city. As it is a ſketch of the laws, their viciffitudes and variations, that we are attempting, we have nothing to do with wars or diſputes between popes and antipopes, the church and the empire, nor with the acceſſions of Staggia or
1167. Orgia to Siena. In 1167 Frederick returns to Italy, and confirms all the privileges and donations which had been before made to Siena. The fourth, fifth, and ſixth journey to Italy, and all theſe

the wars, and truces, and peaces, between Florence and Siena, may likewise be omitted; though in the last, which was in 1184, he found enemies in the Sienese, his old friends. According to some writers, this strange revolution was in 1186, and the causes of it deserve to be examined and explained \*.

1184.

1186.

Charlemain, as has been before related, left the government of Siena in a single assembly of hereditary nobles, who, no doubt, as they had procured the independence of the city by their interest and intercession, thought it their own, and entailed on their posterity for ever. While the people considered these rulers as their benefactors, to whom they owed so much; while the nobles were united, and the city continued with constancy faithful to the emperors, all went smoothly on; at least no history appears to the contrary: but in a course of time, when the nobles became divided into parties, each of which courted the people, not so much from humanity, patriotism, or love of liberty and equality, as because their bones and sinews were wanted in the civil wars, the people, with very good reason, began to demand a share, and to take a hand in the game. But how? Not in any proportion which could give them a controul, or a power of self-defence, or even much influence; but by claiming one in three consuls, and fifty in one hundred and fifty senators. Absolute power was still in the noble hundred, and the people, by their members, only became nearer witnesses of their own insignificance, and of the arbitrary disposition of their noble masters. This,

\* Malavolti, lib. iv. p. 36. Giovanni Villani *Chroniche Fiorentine*, lib. v. Muratori, *Rer. Italic. Scrip.* tom. xv. *Chronica Sanese de Andrea Dei*. Muratori, *Dissertatione*, 50. Muratori, *Annal.* tom. vii. anno 1186, p. 56.

1186.

therefore, of course irritated the people, and gave them able leaders, while it increased the motives of the factions in each party of the nobles to carens them still more. In consequence of this, the public councils and conduct, in 1186, began to be unsteady, and a strong faction appeared for the pope against the emperor. Philippo Malavolti, Palmerio Malagalla, and Guido Maizzi, were this year consuls. The emperor, desirous of passing through the town, the Guelphs had acquired so much influence as to shut the gates against him, and even to attack and defeat his army : but as soon as he was prepared to punish them for this offence, certain orators were sent to him, by those in the government, to excuse the fault, and to beg his pardon. They said, the resistance to his majesty had been occasioned by the fury of the people, who arose in a tumult very much against the will of their governors, who had always been faithfully devoted to him. The emperor received them graciously, and confirmed their privileges under some severe conditions, moved however to this grace, according to the custom of great princes, more by his own interest, than by any confidence he had in their professions : but as he was now intent upon an enterprise into the Levant against the Turks and Saracens, he wished to leave all things in tranquillity in Italy. Intending, on his return, to make himself master of the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, he was desirous of preserving peace in the cities of Italy, already friendly to him ; and by reconciling the others, to acquire more friends and followers, who might assist him, and remove all obstacles to his enterprise. With this view he sent Henry his son, already elected king of the Romans, into Italy, with great pomp and authority, who pretended to

be favourable to the Sieneſe, and granted them the power, under the imperial authority, to elect conſuls, as they had been long uſed to do; but thoſe who ſhould be elected, were obliged to accept the inveſtiture of their conſulate, without expence, from the king himſelf, or the emperor, or their ſucceſſors, if in Italy; if not, from their legate or vicar in Tufcany: and if there ſhould be no imperial legate in Tufcany, the conſuls elect were obliged to go in a body, or a part of them, or ſend an ambaffador, to demand the inveſtiture of the emperor, or whoever ſhould be king of the Romans. In 1187 Jeruſalem was beſieged by Saladin; and Siena ſent five hundred of her young men, under the command of Philip Malavolti, in the Chriſtian army raiſed for its relief. Henry, on his return from this expedition, was by the pope declared emperor, and inveſted in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, upon condition that he would recover it from Tancred, the ſon of Roger the Fourth of the houſe of Normandy, heir of William king of England, who died in this cruſade. While the pope and the emperor were occupied in this enterpriſe, and all Italy was filled with arms and rumours, and ſo many gentlemen of Siena were abſent in the wars, the people of Siena thought they had a favourable opportunity to endeavour, with ſecurity, to take the government of the republic out of the hands of the conſuls, and, by a reformation of the ſtate, introduce a new form of popular government. The plebeians tumultuouſly riſing, with great impetuofity flew to arms; but the gentlemen, who had foreſeen the inſurrection, had prudently aſſembled in the public walks, and provided themſelves with attendants and arms, that they might be able to oppoſe the people, and defend the dignity of the government.

government. The heads of the popular faction, perceiving that their design could not succeed by force, put a stop to the tumult, but stood armed in several parts of the city. The most respectable citizens of each party, meeting half way between the two bodies, effected a reconciliation so far, that both sides agreed to lay down their arms; and it was agreed, that if any one would demand or request that any thing should be corrected or reformed for the public service, he should propose it civilly, without the terror of arms, and if it should be judged an error or a grievance by the council, there should be no difficulty in obtaining its amendment or redress; and, with copious reasonings, they demonstrated the disorders which must arise from such commotions, with arms in their hands, to demand deliberations upon new laws, because the multitude, always naturally desirous of seeing new things, are never contented with what they possess, and having obtained one object of pursuit, they suddenly look for another, setting neither bounds nor laws to their appetites, and upon every little accident, which is always in the power of any one to excite, they fly, according to their present passions, prejudices, necessities, or inclinations, to burglaries, robberies, and conflagrations, many examples of which have been seen in Siena, as well as other cities; and no method of suppressing an unbridled populace has been hitherto invented, without manifest and universal danger. They moreover took into consideration, that, from the vicinity of Florence, in times so agitated, both parties ought to be sensible into what ruin they might fall, while they were engaged at home in contending with each other: and had it not been for this danger, the nobles were, at that time, so superior in power



to the plebeians, that they would not have submitted to this insolence, nor let escape this opportunity of putting an end to such seditions, by chastising the authors of this. They only advised the consuls to call together the council the next day. When together, they deliberated and debated upon a variety of subjects; but, after many contests, they concluded upon nothing but this: In order to satisfy the ambition of two or three persons who aspired to be consuls, it was determined, that, instead of three consuls, there should in future be six, observing the same distribution of two thirds noblemen, one third of whom were to be of the Ghibelline faction, and one third popular members. By this measure they quieted the minds of the ambitious and envious for this year: but the year following, at the new election of consuls, fresh innovations would have been attempted, if, at that time, those Sieneſe gentlemen, who had been to Asia at their own expence, had not returned in triumph, to the universal joy of the whole city. This event quieted the minds of those who were addicted to civil discord. As the creation of six consuls had produced no other effect than to increase the difficulty of assembling them together, and of concluding deliberations by deciding questions, it was now resolved to have only three; and in this way they went on, varying the number according to the times and the business.

In 1194, and 1195, the commerce of the city was much increased by emigrants from Milan; the manufactures in wool were introduced; the great fountain and aquæduct was built, as well as the palace.

In 1197 the conti Scialenghi were made to submit and swear allegiance to Siena, for all the lands and castles, as il Monte Sante Marie, Monte



Bello, Monte Martino, Monte Bernardo, Monte Franco, &c. and the Cacciaconti, Cacciaguerra, Tancredi, Guido, Ranieri, Bernardino, Aldobrandino, Renaldo, counts of Scialenghi, were admitted citizens of Siena. The inhabitants of Asciano also submitted. The count Napoleone de Vicenti di Campiglia, the counts Guiglieschi, and the counts Ardegheschi, also capitulated. The inhabitants of Montalcino, who had frequently excited quarrels between Siena and these counts, now discovered much animosity, and preparations were made for war, to bring them to submission; and that civil dissensions might not interrupt the enterprise, and to quiet the minds of many, who desired that military matters should be separated from the civil and political, and that the consuls should have nothing to do but attend to affairs of state, and government of the city, they made an election of a foreign nobleman, who, with imperial authority, should have the care of all civil and criminal causes, having judges, assessors, and other offices in his family, convenient for such an office. This magistrate they called *podesta*, from the power and authority granted to the cities of Italy to create such an officer by the emperor Frederick the First, at the peace of Constance in 1183, and to the Sienese in particular by Henry the Sixth in 1186, when he came into Italy as vicar to his father Frederick. And besides the judicial authority, in civil and criminal causes, the *podesta* had the government and command of the army in case of war. The first who was elected *podesta* of Siena was M. Orlando Malapresa of Lucca, for one year, and he entered on his office the first of January 1199, according to the order of the city. The Sienese were desirous of an accommodation with the Florentines, that they might

*Podesta.*

1199.

might not be molested by them in the enterprize they meditated against Montalcino. The discords among the princes of Germany upon the election of an emperor, and the revolution of empire in Constantinople, are not much to our present purpose.

In 1201 a perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Florence and Siena, Philip Malavolti being podesta, by which the inhabitants of Montalcino were declared enemies of both. In 1202 the army of Siena made themselves masters of their fortress and territory. The counts Ardengheschi refused to furnish their quota to this expedition, which excited the resentment of the city against them, and at length a war. The cities of Tuscany, that lived and were governed as republics, remained long without any palace, or other public place in which they could assemble their magistrates and councils; they were therefore summoned to meet sometimes in one church, and sometimes in another, according to the changes of the first man in the office of consul, until the establishment of the office of the nine, at which time a palace was built. The first consul usually collected the rest in his own parish church, as the Romans long congregated their senate, sometimes in one temple, sometimes in another, according to the nature of the business on which they were to deliberate. Another quarrel soon arose between Florence and Siena, at the conclusion of which the latter were obliged to relinquish Poggibonzi, whose inhabitants praised the Florentines very highly, while they reproached with bitterness the Sieneſe. The arbitrators, or agents, who settled this dispute, were very ill received on their return; and the praises of Florence, which they heard repeated, displeased them

1201.

1202.

1202.

as much as the reproaches of themselves. These excited great heats, resentments, and personal altercations, not only among the common people, but among all the noble houses which had given their opinions against making the cession of Poggibonzi. The disputes upon this occasion went so far, that many personal enmities grew out of them, and parties frequently came to blows, and bloody combats in arms, by which many factions were generated, who frequently fighting with each other, produced a number of atrocious actions and scandalous crimes. The wisest men, those who consider more the end than the beginning of things, a character peculiar to prudent men, were hardly able to invent a remedy, or by the interposition of the public authority to preserve the peace. The city remained a long time wonderfully agitated, the citizens having no confidence in one another, standing in continual suspicion, and daily expectation of further disorders, tumults, and seditions. These distractions delayed the expedition against Montepulciano, which however was at length, in 1204, undertaken; when dissensions arose among all the cities of Tuscany upon the question, whether Montepulciano was within the dominion or country of Siena. It was customary to settle such disputes by a congress or parliament of rectors, from all the cities of the league or company of Tuscany; and such deputies were now appointed, who, after hearing the parties, and examining witnesses, determined in favour of Siena. It was a custom of the emperors to maintain a vicar in Tuscany, who lived and held a court in San Miniato Altedesco, who gave an account of the causes which had an appeal to the emperor, and received the rents, taxes, tolls, customs, tributes, and other gifts, all which the jurists call by  
one

one word, regalia; and when it happened that the emperor sent no vicar to the province, he sent nuncios to particular cities, and called them counts of those places to which he sent them, with the same authority. This method of collecting together and making a congress, which was used in those times by the cities of Tuscany, was generally very useful to the whole province, because the rectors (so they called the representatives who composed the congress) as soon as they understood that a difference had arisen between one city and another, although they were sometimes of different and contrary factions, exerted themselves, according to the obligations of their magistracy, with extreme diligence, to bring them to an accommodation; and if sometimes their endeavours to adjust the difference did not succeed, and the war was prosecuted, the congress nevertheless stood firm, and the rectors did not fail to do every thing in their power for the universal benefit, and at all times appeared together in parliament for the public business which occurred, and to make their elections, at the stated periods, of new rectors, who had no authority alone in their countries, but only while they were assembled with the rectors of the other cities. As it was their duty to be always attentive to the common utility, if so many people, for their private interests, excited by the ambition of dominion, or by avarice, two qualities very unfriendly to peace, had not departed from this foederal order, the ruin of so many republics had not perhaps been effected: but as the men of that age were little accustomed to reflection, and had less prudence in providing for futurity, they were still less solicitous to leave, by the means of letters, the memory and history of their times, so that only a confused notion of a few particulars

particulars remains at this day, not only of this confederation, but of an infinite number of other great events and institutions.

1206. In 1206 followed the discords between Philip of Suevia, and Otho of Saxony, and their contention for the empire, in which Philip was superior; which was followed by wars with the Saracens, and between Siena and Florence, in which the army of the former was defeated at Montalto.

1209. In 1209 the king of the Romans came into Italy, and confirmed the privileges of Siena, particularly those of electing consuls, coining money, and administering justice, reserving appeals, and other conditions expressed in the grant of Henry; but declaring, that Jacomo Aldobrando, and Henry, sons of Aldibrandino Guiseppi, and other nobles who held seignories in the county of Siena, nor their subjects, should be under the podesta of the city. The consuls endeavoured to divert the minds of the people, now at peace with Florence, by employing them in rebuilding the castles, and restoring the strong places belonging to the republic; but they found it impossible to suppress or divert the ambition of the popular multitude, who, feeling themselves relieved from foreign wars, would be employed in domestic seditions. As they were at liberty to choose the podesta, either from foreigners or from the nobility of Siena, the choice was generally made from among the latter. The people thought, that the introduction of this office had rather been a loss than an acquisition to them; and that the nobles, by means of it, had aggrandized themselves. They insisted, that this should be corrected in the order of choosing the podesta; and to remove all occasion of dissensions, and maintain the public tranquillity, the gentle-

1211. men concurred, in 1211, in a new law, that the  
podesta

podesta should, for the future, always be a foreigner. It is easy to see that the pride of most of the nobles concurred with, if it did not excite this popular humour; for the jealousy and envy of the nobles can never bear to see one of themselves elevated much above the rest. Regardless of equality among the people, and irreconcilable enemies to any appearance of it between the people and themselves, they must always be peers, or equals among one another; and when a king, or any other first magistrate, must be placed over them, they always prefer the introduction of a foreigner to the elevation of one of their own body. But it does not always happen in these cases, that by taking away the cause, the effect is removed. Those who are grown inveterate in the habits of dissension, without having any regard to the public good, and without the least cause of complaint, will find means of interrupting and disturbing good order. The people had obtained whatever they demanded, yet they would not lay down their arms; and the multitude appearing in continual insurrections, some terrible catastrophe was apprehended, and would have occurred, if the nobles had not likewise resorted to arms, and, with a great concourse of those who wished for peace and order, had not marched through the city. This procession spread a terror among the seditious, who, from fear, laid down their arms, and returned to their houses. Upon this the government was re-assumed, and confirmed by the punishment of many of those who had been the heads of this commotion. The first who was created *podesta*, according to the new law, was M. Guido di Rannuccio da Orvieto.

In 1221, Frederick the Second, after his coronation, having granted many favours to several lords



lords and cities of the Ghibelline party, renewed and enlarged the privileges of Siena, of administering justice, of paying the gabells or imposts only at the gates of the city, of coining money, and of exemption from all customs and tributes in the country. These exemptions and privileges perhaps occasioned a demand of familiar favours which was at this time made by the territories tributary to Siena, such as Chiuci, Montelatrone, Montepinzuto, Potentino, Luriano, Vico, the lands of the abbey of St. Antimo, and other places. But as this demand occasioned a civil war, and Siena raised a force both of horse and foot, which they were ill provided to resist, they capitulated.

1222.

In 1222 the count Ranieri da Travale, originally of the Morea, in the Peloponnesus, was made a citizen of Siena, and annexed the lands and castles he had purchased to their dominion. From him are descended the counts of Elci, Montingegnoli, and Fuosini. But the city, when it was not at war with Florence, nor against the pope, nor engaged in crusades nor in rebellion against the emperor, was almost continually engaged in disputes and wars with the mountains, castles, and lords in its neighbourhood, though in alliance with it, or under its dominion; and whenever a moment of perfect peace occurred, seditions and tumults broke out. With the conquest of Grossetto, and an increase of jurisdiction, Siena had excited much envy in a part of those cities of the Guelphs, in Tuscany, Florence, Lucca, Orvieto, and Penegia, which were in a league against the other confederation of the Ghibellines, which were Siena, Pisa, Arezzo, and Pistoia. The former took measures to oppose the Sienese in their favourite enterprise against Montepulciano, and this occasioned a series of altercations and wars, not only among these cities,

cities, but with the lords of the mountains, too long to be related ; but at last Montepulciano was taken, and peace concluded. The cities of Tuscany, now in profound peace, and all apprehensions of its interruption removed by the presence of the emperor in Italy with a powerful army, the Sieneſe thought themſelves ſecure from the ſtratagems as well as invaſions of their enemies. This ſenſe of ſecurity awakened in the minds of the popular multitude in the city of Siena the ſame deſire of making themſelves maſters of the internal government of the republic, which at former times they had entertained. The principal heads of this faction, in their conſultations on the project, and diſcourſing on the means of carrying it into execution, found among themſelves a great variety of opinions, from whence aroſe violent diſſenſions. From this aroſe two circumſtances, which prevented the ſcandalous diſorders which uſually happen in ſuch caſes. The firſt was a delay of the concluſions and reſolutions ; the ſecond was, that in this interval it was not poſſible to keep the plot ſo ſecret and concealed, that no intimations ſhould be given to the nobility of what was meditated to their diſadvantage, and the manifeſt danger of the whole city, if to ſuch an end the people ſhould recur to arms. When the nobles had diſcovered and conſidered the ſituation and the danger they were in, not only from theſe commotions, but from the hatred which, in the wars of ſo many years with Florence and Orvieto, they had provoked in the minds of their inhabitants, from ſuch prudent conſiderations it was determined to treat civilly with the popular party, without the buſtle of arms, leſt they ſhould be involved at once in a war both at home and abroad ; and as the popular party, from the ſame motives, concurred

red with the nobles, that the innovation should be made in their civil robes rather than in armour, it was agreed that the council should be assembled. Here they deliberated and debated on the mode of reforming the government of the city. As the popular party saw no possibility of obtaining to themselves exclusively the government, as they had at first projected and reasoned among themselves, they demanded, that, in addition to their third part in the council and magistracy, it should be left to the discretion of the council themselves to choose the other part of the magistrates, and fifty more members at least of the council, out of the nobles or people, at their pleasure. To this the nobles would not agree, and many of them opposed it with such efficacious reasons, as made it appear unreasonable to the popular party themselves, and the petition was neither granted nor countenanced by many votes. Tolomei, Malavolti, Buonfignori, and Gallerani, were the principal speakers among the nobles; and their eloquence was employed to persuade the popular party, that they ought to be contented with the share they already enjoyed in the republic, and esteem themselves under obligations to the memory of their grandfathers, who had so benevolently embraced them, and taken them into their society; and having received so great a favour from the nobility, who had received them into an equality with themselves, it would have been a more rational and becoming conduct to have demonstrated their gratitude, by acknowledging the benefaction, and co-operating harmoniously in the public service, in the imminent danger which they saw over the commonwealth, rather than excite every day fresh seditions. That they might well know that those who had held the government hitherto, were not men of so poor capacities,

pacities, as to have occasion, in the administration of there public, for the assistance of so great a number of new men, for the most part uselefs, or more properly pernicious, by their contracted understandings and small experience. That their project was the more alarming, as they proposed to make the magistrates so very numerous; because it had been seen, in numberless examples, and experience had found it an infallible observation, that states had been seldom well governed by the multitude, in whose deliberations, besides other imperfections, the opinion of the most ignorant and incapable weighs as much as that of the most prudent and experienced. Those cities which had rashly committed the government to the multitude, had, to their misfortune, more frequently experienced revolutions in the state, than those which restricted the government to a few: for although, to a superficial view, the equality of the citizens in the public deliberations, where the votes are numbered, but neither weighed nor measured, might appear a just and reasonable thing; yet to any man who maturely reflected on the subject, it must appear in a very different light. As to the mode of making the elections of magistrates, if it were possible to concede to the people the share they demanded, these orators demonstrated that it must prove pernicious to the commonwealth. The method proposed was a way to take from the council the free power of creating the magistrates, the proposed law imposing the necessity of creating one third of them from one faction exclusively, and taking away the discretionary right of electing those who, according to the occasions and times of war or of peace, might be the best qualified to discharge the duties of their office. It was affirmed, that in a very little time it would be seen, that  
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not only the nobles, who had from the beginning ruled, and with so much virtue and dignity aggrandized their country, but even that those popular families, who for a space of an hundred years had honourably governed and prospered with them, would by this innovation be thrown out of the government. That this invention, as now proposed, as was easy to be perceived, had no other end in view than to introduce a government of new men, by pulling down those who had hitherto maintained it; because, as the council in the election of officers was bound by necessity always to elect a third portion from the popular order, it might and would soon happen, that of the other portion, either all, or at least a part, would be popular members, new persons, and unexperienced in administration; and the nobles, and those accustomed to government, would be deposed, to the grievous loss and misfortune of the public. When it was admitted that every citizen, without distinction, might be admitted to honours and to government, is it not better that the council should have the free faculty of making their elections of persons apt for their offices, that men may be excited by this motive to habituate themselves to honourable exercises and virtuous courses? That to impose the necessity of electing another, who knows that he must be elected at all events, is to take away from him every incentive to virtuous behaviour. This would be precisely the way of bestowing honours on sloth instead of virtue, and to give the establishment of magistrates to the laws, not the appointment to the council, who will be for the most part forced to make the election contrary to their judgments and inclinations; an indignity too great to be offered to that senate.

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To this harangue it was answered, on the part of the popular faction, by William Gollucci, who Gollucci. said, that the nobles ought not to disdain to have the people associated with them in the government of the commonwealth, among many other reasons, because they very well knew they had it not now in their power to say, what had been affirmed by their grandfathers, when in the beginning they refused to admit the people to any share, that popular men are not fit to exercise magistracies, nor to rule in the councils of the city; for having, since 1135, governed in concert with them, participating only in a third part, they had given such assistance, that the city was greatly increased in dominion, riches, and population, as was evident to all men: so that their society might be said to have been of the greatest public utility; and the same benefits, and still greater, might be expected in future, when, instead of a limitation to a third part, there should be no bounds prescribed. That it very rarely had happened that any city had arisen to grandeur, if it had not admitted the people and the other subjects to the administration of the commonwealth, and to the magistracies. "This," said he, "was the ruin of the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, who, although they were most valiant in arms, would have found their republics of little energy and short duration, if they had excluded their subjects from the hopes of rising, by their arms and other virtues, to honours and public magistracies. What was it that elevated Rome to its superlative greatness, more than their having given civility, the rights of citizens to privileges and honours, to all in Italy who submitted to their empire? What can stimulate your own citizens to greater alacrity in the service of the public, than



the hope of arriving, by their good behaviour, to the highest honours of the republic? and the knowledge, that if in war they place themselves in the post of danger, they are sure to do it for their own proper utility, as well as for that of others? What interest can you believe will make them more ardent, animated, and intrepid, in any public enterprise? We know, moreover, that no government can be properly styled a republic, which does not comprehend all the people of the city." By these reasons he endeavoured to persuade the senate, that is to say the council, that the demand made by the people was as much for the public service in general, as their own in particular: and as to that which had been said by the grandees against receiving new men into the government, he replied, that as all other things, how ancient soever they might be, had a beginning, so it was with nobility; "as, for example, we may say, as you know very well, that after the first original nobility of our city, with Charlemain, when he delivered Italy from the domination of the Lombards, came the Malevoli and the French gentlemen, who since have called themselves Bandinelli, who were received not only into the number of the citizens, but into the ranks of the nobles and patricians of Siena; after that, with Otho the First, when he expelled the Berengarii from Italy, the Salembeni, the Tolommei, who in like manner were enumerated among the nobles and grandees of this city; and, in times more modern, many others, who were lords of several castles of this state, as the Scorcialupi, who nce have called themselves Squarcialupi, those of Tornano, of Valcortese, of Berardenga, Scialenga, and many others, who all enjoy the title of nobility. Finally, our grandfathers were  
admitted

admitted to the government in 1135; and if we, their descendants, have retained the name of popular, it does not follow that we have not acquired nobility. For what reason then, if your ancestors have accepted foreigners and ultramontanes, and even conquered lords and landholders, into their peerage, should not you receive your own proper fellow citizens? those who are born free within the same walls with yourselves, and run the same fortunes with all others? You will say, because they are not noble. We however say, that all those others in this kind of nobility were not more noble than are at this hour those who, by means of public dignities, have acquired nobility, or than will be those who shall come into the government after us; and as we shall be an example for them, so will they be to those who may come after them; and the city will be able, by this means, to preserve for a longer time the nobility of her citizens; and, as it is natural that whatever has a beginning must have an end, new noblemen will succeed from time to time to those who may fail, and the land will be better peopled and more powerful."

A short replication to these arguments was made by Rinaldo Alessi, who said, that if the people, since they had participated in the government, had remained more quiet, it was possible the city might have made some notable acquisition; but, as every one knew, the continual seditions which the popular party had excited, had raised their inordinate desires, and disposed them more to civil wars than to wars with their hostile neighbours; and that those acquisitions which they had made had been obtained rather by the incidents of the times than by any other reason; and that those ancient gentlemen who

Rinaldo  
Alessi.

came formerly with Charlemain and the first Otho, when they were invited, many centuries ago, to inhabit this city, had the feignories of many castles, which had been given them, in reward of their illustrious actions which they performed for the service of the empire, by Charles and Otho; and that more splendour and nobility had accrued to the republic than to them by their coming to inhabit it. And the same thing was true of the other lords of this dominion, who, according to the accidents which have occurred, have been made gentlemen of Siena, the city being aggrandized and ennobled by the acquisition of their families, castles, and feignories.

By these speeches we see, that neither the aristocratical nor the democratical orators aimed at any thing more than a government of all authority in one centre; but the legislative and executive power were to be lodged in one assembly. The nobles wished to have the whole house to themselves, and the commons wished the same thing, though each party temporized and modified their language with some regard to the other. The loaves and fishes, the honours and emoluments, were what they all sought, more than liberty, safety, or good order, more than the commerce, arts, or peace, more than the prosperity, grandeur, and glory of their country. Not one of them thinks of giving all the executive power to the podesta, with a weapon to defend it; not one thinks of dividing the sovereign legislature into two assemblies, giving to the nobles and people an equal share: yet, without these arrangements, every intelligent reader of their history, at this day, perceives that all the projects of either party for amendment would only increase the evil, by inflaming the ill humour. After many discourses, made by several persons of both parties,

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the grandees, sensible that, if they should recur to arms, and defend the dignity of their stations, they might, in the war which they expected with Florence and Orvieta, and by the difficulty of obtaining money, put all in danger, by refusing to accommodate their civil discords by giving way in part; they therefore concurred in the opinion that prevailed, that the council should make the election of thirty citizens, fifteen of each party, who should have authority to propose a new form of government, as it appeared that the magistrates, called the consuls, since the introduction of the office of the podesta, that of the four purveyors, and the chamberlain of Biccherna, were no longer of any authority at all, and that there was a necessity to think of making a magistracy of a greater number of men, and of more authority concerning the affairs of the state, and the administration of the republic. The thirty persons who were invested with this full power, or, as the Florentines called it, this *balia*, having discoursed and deliberated some time upon the subject of their commission, and wishing to give satisfaction to the public, as well as gratify the ambition of many individuals, by constituting a numerous magistracy, they proposed to the council to institute a magistracy of twenty-four, to be elected by the council out of the whole body of the people, or the citizens at large, on condition that there should not be nominated or voted for a greater number from one faction than from the other; and as it was understood that the emperor Frederick was soon to leave Italy, and it was expected the Florentines would soon attack them or some of their dependencies, the measure soon obtained, the four and twenty magistrates were immediately created, and with great spirit entered

on their offices, by making preparations for war against the Florentines and the other Guelphs. This revolution, if a bare change of the number of first magistrates without any change in the sovereignty can be called one, was in 1232, while the emperor was at Ravenna.

- 1232.
1238. The Sienese were now involved in constant wars with their neighbours till 1238, when the discords between the pope and the emperor revived the animosities of the ancient factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Tuscany, as well as in many other parts of Italy, and with greater hatred and animosity than ever: nor was there any people who were not infected with this destructive contagion, by which, without having any other cause of quarrel, they fought with each other with mortal enmity, not only one city against another, but the same city divided into these factions combatted itself; each party having not only different ensigns, under which they marched out to war, but they had distinguished themselves by the colour and wearing of their cloths, by their gait and air, and gestures of the body, and by every other the smallest circumstance; so that, at the first aspect, a Guelph might be known, by a glance of the eye, from a Ghibelline. These divisions not only prevailed among the Sienese, but, since the introduction of the magistracy of twenty-four, a new diversity arose among the citizens, and a new distinction of party names. This government did not please all, and those who approved it assumed the name of twenty-four, and those who were dissatisfied took the name of twenty-seven. Hatred and resentment increased among them to such a degree, that in 1240 they flew again to arms, with most violent commotions of the whole city, the slaughter of multitudes on each side, with innumerable

numerable robberies, burglaries, plunderings, and conflagrations of houses and palaces, and other crimes committed by the plebeians. But as the rabble in favour of the twenty-four appeared to be the strongest, this magistracy survived the lawless attempts to destroy it, and preserved authority enough to elect M. Aldobrandino di Guido Cacciacconti podestà, who, by his prudence, and the public authority, reduced the city to some degree of obedience to the laws. The secret was, that the pope and the emperor were to the republics of Italy, what Sparta and Athens had been to those of the Peloponnesus : each must have a party in every city, and if the nobles were on one side, the people would be on the other, and vice versâ; and every art of seduction was employed by one power or the other on both.

The Sieneſe were now plunged in new wars, which continued, almost without interruption, till 1258. The cities of Tuscany, which, in the discords between the pontiffs and emperors, had followed the Imperial party, and were denominated Ghibellines, after the death of Frederick the Second were greatly oppressed by the other cities, which, having followed the ecclesiastical party, were then superior, and were distinguished by the name of Guelphs; but since Manfred, overcoming the forces of the pope, had made himself master of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, he took the Ghibellines in the province of Tuscany into his more immediate protection, and placed Siena at the head of that party. As Florence was the head of the Guelph party, each city in its turn was an asylum for the exiles of the other; which, in addition to the jealousy, envy, emulation, and selfish views, which are common between neighbouring nations as well as cities, proved a continual provocation to war. These wars and rebellions of their mountains,

1258.



tains, which it would fill volumes to describe, will be passed over. Yet it may be proper to mention the rebellion of Monteano and Montemaszi, when the count Giordano demanded in the senate that one third of the city should be armed and sent out, because a form of their constitution is upon this occasion explained. Although the Sienese were zealously inclined to comply with the request of Giordano, and thought the expedition very interesting to their country, they would not depart from the ancient order, that when any expedition was proposed, that the subject might be maturely considered, it must be proposed in the council of the credenza, and consulted on three times, on three several days, in the general council, before any thing could be determined. A deputation, upon this occasion, was appointed to attend the army, consisting of the podesta, the captain of the people, the three first members of the office of twenty-four, and twelve good men, buoni huomini, deputed by the commons. The soldiers and officers in these expeditions served without pay, in imitation of the Romans, who, for three hundred and forty-nine years, continued to go out to war, every one at his own expence. This is universally alledged by historians as a proof of their love of their country; but it may as well be considered as a proof of their poverty and their ignorance, for there is no example of it among rich and well-informed people: it would be indeed unjust and unequal. As the provisions and apparatus were found by the public, and plunder was made wherever they went, it is very probable that the most of their armies were better fed, and more profitably employed, abroad than at home, as manufactures were little known, and commerce and navigation in its infancy.

In the year 1359 ambassadors were sent to the king Manfred by the council of the credenza, who from the council general, or the senate, which signified the same thing, had the authority deputed to them to give commissions and instructions to ambassadors. The council of cerdenza was a secret council, as its name imports, in which were secretly treated those things which were to be proposed to the general council, which, representing the whole city, had greater authority; but no proposition could be made, if it had not first obtained in the council of credenza. This is very remarkable: the sovereignty was in one single assembly, the general council; the leading members, however, had influence enough to get themselves separated from the body by its own act, all secret affairs committed to them, and nothing permitted to be brought into the general council without their previous approbation. This arrangement was afterwards imitated by the grand dukes. In the council of the people, nothing could be treated which had not previously been treated in the consistory, and by them proposed. Another council obtained in Siena, which has been mentioned before, called the council of assembly, of fifty members for each third, which, at stated periods, was changed by the general council, and limited by them in authority: so that the whole sovereignty, the whole legislative, judicial, and executive authority, was literally in one centre, that of the general council, and all other assemblies, councils, magistrates, and officers, were only committees and deputies of that body \*. In this council of credenza the se-

\* Malavolti, lib. i. della Seconda Parte, fol. 7 and 8.—  
Chroniche Sanese, Ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Scrip. tom. xv.  
p. 29, 30, &c.

cret treaty was made with the count Giordano, and ambassadors sent with him to Manfred.

1260.

In the year 1260 the memorable battle of Montaperto was fought between the Florentines and Sienese, in which the latter obtained a complete victory, and reduced Florence to the brink of destruction. At this glorious period, when their great rival Florence was reduced to such extremities as to be obliged to submit to the emperor and the Ghibellines, and make peace with Siena upon her own terms; when so many other people and territories were daily submitting to their jurisdiction, and ambassadors of congratulation were arriving from all parts; is it not surprising that union and harmony at home should not accompany such transports of joy as appeared in every part of their dominions? Yet, in a government so constituted, a dispute among a few young gentlemen at a bath of Petriuolo was sufficient to divide the whole city. In this rencounter one Baroccino di Bencivenne Barocci, a youth of the popular order, was killed by M. Robba Renaldini. Of this homicide M. Bennucio Salimbeni was also accused, who, besides being banished together with M. Robba, and having their palaces demolished by the fury of the people, because Bencivenne, father of Baroccino, was of the magistracy of the twenty-four, who then governed the city, and, through the hatred which the people bore to the nobles, was condemned in a fine of twelve thousand pounds, and rigorously held in prison in irons, till his father Salimbeni was obliged to pay it. So rigid a punishment, transgressing as they thought all bounds of justice, in complaisance to the people, provoked some of the nobles, who would not remain exposed to the discretion and insolence of the

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the multitude, daily excited in commotions against them, and having such an arbitrary influence in the judicial department, that they left the city, and retired for safety to Radicofani, a place by its situation sufficiently strong. Upon this the magistrates declared them of the party of the Guelphs, which provoked them to over-run, with some troops of horse, attended with their followers, the dominions of the republic in the country, and plunder the lands of their enemies, at whose instigation they knew the magistrates had been induced to pass a decree so pernicious and prejudicial, not only to them, but to the whole city, by the divisions which must arise from it among the citizens, reviving the hatred of factions, both of Guelphs and Ghibellines, nobles and people, which by the fear of foreign wars all parties had united unanimously to bury in oblivion, to their infinite advantage in the late war against their national enemies. From this disorder, arising from that leisure, idleness, and insolence, which, having overcome their external enemies, had taken possession of them in place of fear, factions and parties took occasion to revive their enmities, and to study to offend, provoke, and injure one another. Having learnt in Siena the mischief which had been done in the country by the fugitives, now become exiles, a strong force was sent out, of German troops as well as the militia, both cavalry and infantry, when, after an obstinate engagement, and many slain on both sides, among whom were several persons of consequence, the exiles were defeated by superior numbers, and the discipline of the German troops. This was in 1262. The history proceeds with accounts of rebellions and submissions of one and another of their mountains, castles, seigniories, and other little dependencies, and

1262.

1266.

and of the persecutions of their exiles and the Guelphs; and all things in this period are done in the name of the commons of Siena, till the year 1266, when many ill humours began to appear again in the city; and by the accidents which had occurred, so great a change had been produced in the minds of the multitude, that it appeared to the major part of those concerned in the administration, that, for the universal satisfaction, it was become necessary to re-ordain the government in a new form. To this end sixty citizens were elected; but by whom? Not by the people, or citizens at large, nor by a convention of their deputies, the only legitimate expedient for framing a new constitution, but by the general council. Into this number of sixty were elected, in confusion, both grandees (for so the nobles were now called) and popular men, with authority to reform the city, with new orders, by which they were to introduce universal peace and tranquillity among the citizens. But a contrary effect was produced; because, as the sixty let several months pass, after they begun to assemble, before they published their result, the popular party conjectured that they had made some provision in favour of the nobles, to their prejudice and damage, and accordingly rose with astonishing noise and tumult; and rushing impetuously in arms to the palace of the bishoprick, where the sixty were now congregated, and setting fire to the gate, constrained them to renounce their magistracy; from whence, returning privately to their houses, many, both of the popular citizens and of the nobles, through fear, went out of the city. Others, taking arms, endeavoured to defend the public honour and their own; among whom were many of the houses of Tolomei, Salembeni, Piccolomini, Accarigi, and other

other families, who combating in a variety of places, after having done and suffered great damage, with the death of many persons of every party, and not being any longer able to resist so great a multitude, were forced to depart from Siena, together with M. Inghirano, captain of the people, who in this contest had shewn himself favourable to the magistracy of the sixty. As soon as they had departed they were declared rebels and enemies of their country, their estates were confiscated, and the palaces of Tolomei demolished, as well as another of Piccolomini, and the towers of the sons of Salembeni, and the houses of Accarigi. The master workman of all these ruins was one M. Lutterio, who is named without a surname; and another, named Ferruccio, was sent as a commissary to Campriano, to demolish the palace of Tolomei, and Rimbaldi, &c. In this new sedition, excited by the multitude against the magistrates of the sixty, if it was not properly a quarrel between Guelphs and Ghibellines, nor entirely between the nobles and the people, it applied itself however to those who had before been driven from the city, and they united with the exiles of the Guelph party, who, incited by the favour which by the victory of king Charles they appeared to share, and uniting with the Orvietanians, and the counts Aldobrandeschi, did infinite damage in the dominions of Siena, and in a few days made themselves masters of the lands of Montepulciano, of Torrita, Menzano, Cerreto, and many other places, which rebelling against the city, surrendered to its exiles. The greater part of Tuscany, by these and similar divisions, stood in constant troubles and dangers. Moved by this consideration, the citizens of Siena who held the government, desirous of re-uniting  
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and reconciling their exiles, that they might preserve the state from still greater confusions, sent ambassadors of the Ghibelline party, one of whom was the bishop of Siena, to Rome, to the pope Clement the Fourth, praying his interposition to conclude a peace between them, their exiles and confederates. The pope accepted the office of mediator, and a peace was concluded August 2, 1266, and confirmed by the mountains, feignories, exiles, and people, with promises of mutual forgiveness. New connections were formed with Charles of Anjou, king of Naples, and fresh wars engaged in, which kept the minds of the citizens employed, though the Sieneſe and the Ghibelline cauſe met with defeats and diſaſters, which reduced it ſo low, that Siena was left alone to ſupport it. This adverſity, however, had one good effect: on the 15th of Auguſt, 1270, it produced a peace between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Siena; and the twenty-four magiſtrates, with twelve buonhomini of the commons, meeting in one aſſembly, agreed, that the government in future ſhould be adminiſtered by thirty-fix magiſtrates, of nobles and commons in equal portions, with the title of The Thirty-fix Governors of the City and Community of Siena. This was followed by a league with Florence, under the auſpices of Charles king of Naples. The party of the Guelphs was now ſo powerful, and the Ghibellines ſo depreſſed, that the Sieneſe, who, like all other people under governments ſo conſtituted, with parties nearly equal in numbers, wealth, and merit, without any mediator between them, ſtood always on the brink of ſedition, turned the ſcale rather in favour of the Guelphs; and theſe, as ſoon as they felt their power, roſe upon the Ghibellines, and drove them out of the city. Underſtanding that

that king Charles was at Viterbo, they sent ambassadors to congratulate him on the happy success of affairs in Tuscany, who presented him with four thousand five hundred golden florins in behalf of the republic, the Guelphs being desirous, upon this their first appearance in power, to shew their gratitude; and a diet of Guelph ambassadors was soon held in the castle of Florence. The Sienese Ghibellines in exile were nevertheless troublesome, appearing in many places in arms, and ravaging the country, till the Guelphs marched out, fought, and routed them. When this was done, they in their turn took vengeance, by demolishing the castles and towers of the Ghibellines, both in the city and country. In 1272 the pope Gregory Tenth again interposed his mediation, and obtained the restoration of the Ghibellines both in Siena and Florence; and the stipulation, promising them protection, was ratified by the college of thirty-six governors of the city and commons of Siena. But the minority is never happy: indeed, they are always oppressed by the majority, where there is not a separate executive, and an independent judicial, whose interest as well as duty it is to be impartial between them. In a little time the Ghibellines, who were returned to Siena, found by experience the truth of this observation. They found, that they had not the same privileges \* with others, nor the same chance for honours, nor the same security of their reputations, as when formerly they had shared the government with the Guelphs. Living in little credit, and having small hopes of any change in their favour, and knowing that they

1272.

\* Tanto fù sempre piu potente, il favor, che la Giustizia, nelle città parziali, com' è stata quasi sempre la città di Siena. Malavolti, lib. iii. 2<sup>o</sup> Part. p. 44.

had

1277.

had no security for their property, liberty, or lives, but in the mercy of the major party, they returned into the country of Siena, and joining with the Ghibelline exiles from Bologna, renewed the old troubles, and the usual party rage. They raised forces, excited rebellions, and formed alliances with little territories and feignories, till they were able to meet a party of the army sent out against them in 1277, defeated them at Pari, took many prisoners, among whom was Ridolphi, the captain, whom they beheaded. The news of this skirmish and defeat threw the Sienese army into such a sudden panic, that they betook themselves to flight, without having seen their enemy, and without any military order returned to the city. Such an excess of timidity, such an infamous cowardice, though it is not unprecedented nor uncommon even among the bravest troops, could not fail to occasion great indignation in Siena. When the multitude considered how easily the enemy might, if they should have the resolution to follow their advantage, enter the city itself, and join their partisans there, they rose in a tumult, and ran with great fury to the defence of the gates, and stood in arms all the rest of that day and the following night. In the morning, finding that the enemy had less ardour to follow than their own army to fly, they laid down their arms; but went about the streets of the city, discoursing in much ill humour, that the divisions of the nobles might very easily prove the ruin of their country, if some remedy was not discovered; and they declared, that they would not any longer be disturbed by exiles, nor compelled by the discords among the gentlemen to be for ever in war, and in danger of losing their lives and their property; and it appeared to them, that for the common tranquillity,

lity, a peace ought to be concluded, as proposed by the pope's legate, who had been sent to recommend a reconciliation between the people of Tuscany. The Sienese of the Guelph party, who governed the city, influenced by these murmurs, the legates exhortations, and a weariness of civil war, which held them in continual agitation and danger both in their public and private affairs, agreed at last, in 1279, to a peace with their exiles, who, without any further noise of arms, and to the universal satisfaction of all parties, were restored to their country and their honours, under the podesterate, or, as they chose to call it, the signory of Matthew de Maggi of Brescia. 1279.

In the next year, 1280, in the podesterate of Alberigo Signoregi of Bologna, by the fury of the people, instigated by the Guelphs, were burnt and demolished the palaces of the Incontii, a convulsion which originated in the usual source, the divisions and enmities among the gentlemen, and produced the usual effect, an idle and useless attempt to reform the government, by restraining the power to fewer hands, with dividing and separating it into its natural departments. The thirty-six magistrates were now reduced to fifteen, as if the number of members, not the nature of their power, had done the mischief; and it was ordained that no gentleman could be of the number of fifteen, but all must be popular men, as if noble demagogues and popular demagogues were not all equally absurd, ambitious, proud, and tyrannical, when they have no necessity to be wise, modest, humble, and equitable. This decree was as tyrannical as any that can be conceived; for if it were admitted that a descent from a line of benefactors to their country was no merit, nor any argument for employing a citizen in public offices, 1280.

surely it is no demerit, nor any argument for excluding him. The reason assigned for it was, that the pride of the nobility increased and accumulated by their bearing the public authority, and that they ought not to have the power to make their pride and arbitrary dispositions more intolerable, nor by their divisions among themselves to disturb so frequently the public peace and quiet of the other citizens, as they had done in times past; as if the pride of new men were not equally, or even more exalted by power, their dispositions apt to become more arbitrary, and their divisions even more untractable and furious, which is the certain truth of fact. These fifteen new magistrates were called The Governors and Defenders of the Commons and People of Siena; but by this arbitrary institution they neither quieted nor united the exasperated minds of the nobles, who, without considering the damage which, in the divided situation of their principles, opinions, and affections, would result not only to themselves, but to the whole city, which, being equally divided, was weakened to such a degree, that malignant humours and irreparable animosities must be generated from fresh hatreds and revenge, seeing that the exaltation of the popular faction, patronised as it was by the supreme magistrate, would prove their depression, they proceeded in a few months to arms and war between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Part of the multitude took side with the Guelphs, while the rest remained neuter; and many of the faction of Ghibellines were driven out of the city, at the head of whom was M. Niccolò Buonignori, a man of great reputation, and for his valour in great credit with the soldiers and princes of those times. His fame had procured him many followers of the Ghibelline faction; and



and having received information, that the Ghibellines, who, after his departure, had remained in Siena, were grievously oppressed by Orfini, the podesta of that city, he wished to deliver them from such injustice, and vindicate their cause. By the favour of the count of Santa Fiore, from whom he had no small number of men, he approached one night to one of the gates, at which were assembled a concourse of Ghibellines, in Siena, with whom he held a correspondence, and had formed a secret concert; and having suddenly made a breach, he entered the city with his people, guided by several citizens, with whose assistance he fought all night, and the next day; but was driven out again, together with the succours of Spaniards which had been sent them the same night by the duke of Florence. The battle upon this occasion between the parties was general, for the bells of the commons, which were upon the tower of Mignanelli, had rung to arms, and the people had very generally risen. Danger was affronted on all sides, and the battle was furious. Although the Ghibellines had by force of arms made their way to the market, the Guelphs put them to flight, massacring many, and making many prisoners, leaving among the dead M. Giacomo Forteguerri, who was one of the heads of the faction. Niccolo found himself surrounded with a host of his enemies; but, although on horseback, he retreated, defending himself with that fierce intrepidity that so commonly appears in civil wars, and went out of the city through the same gate, accompanied by great numbers of the nobles of Ghibelline houses, as the Forteguerri, Paliarefi, Salvani, Ugurgieri, Ragnoni, and others, who would not remain in the power of an enraged enemy, and retired to the territory of Rigmagno. This was on the 15th of July 1281.



Matthew Orfini, the Roman, being podesta, was afterwards sent by the magistrates of Siena, the fifteen governors and defenders of the commons and people of Siena, with an army composed of the men of the third of San Martino, and other people commanded from other thirds, to attack the Ghibellines in Rigomagno. Here the exiles had fortified themselves, and when attacked, as they had expected, defended their strong hold with great bravery ; but at length were forced to evacuate it, and leave the ground to the Guelphs, who having, at the expence of much slaughter on both sides, got possession of it, rased the walls, and cut off the head of Neri di Belmonte, a captain of the Ghibellines, whom they had taken prisoner, in retaliation for a similar severity committed by them on Ridolfo della Treguena, a few years before, when they defeated the Guelphs at Pari.

1282. In 1282 the count Silvatico di Conti Guidi was podesta, and the Sienese, the other castles of their state being intimidated by the examples made at Rigomagno, sent them orders not to receive the exiles, nor any other Ghibellines, but to resist them in arms, to demolish the walls of Monte Fallonica, those of St. Agnolo in Colle, and those of Monticiano, in which territories M. Niccolo Buonsignori had attempted to make a stand, and from which he made a predatory war upon Siena, for several months, with several exiles from that city and other places. Martin the Fourth, a Frenchman, succeeded to the pontificate, and by his favour king Charles regained his former credit in the cities of Tuscany, and was restored to the dignity of senator of Rome, to the infinite dissatisfaction of the Ghibelline party, who upon this occasion were wholly deprived of any share in the government by the triumphant Guelphs, both in  
Siena,

Siena, and in many other cities; and this is ever the object of a prevalent faction, or a decided majority, to monopolize the whole government to themselves, by the total exclusion of the minority; and when possessed of the whole legislative, executive, and judicial power, they drive into exile, confiscate, behead, and oppress, in every way, without controul. The Sicilians broke out in rebellion against Charles, and while his forces were employed in attempting to reduce them, the Sieneſe of the Guelph party, who governed the republic, to prevent their Ghibelline exiles and rebels from attempting ſome innovation, by taking advantage of the revolution in Sicily againſt king Charles, the head and protector of the Guelphs, ſent a new army into the country to perſecute and plunder the Ghibellines; and this year the fifteen governors and defenders of the people and commons of Siena, the conſuls of the merchants, the conſuls of the manufacturers in wool, the ſeigniors of the other arts, the ſeigniors gonfaloniers of the companies, and the captains of the country, were all congregated together with the poſteſta in the general council, and a treaty made with Ranieri de Conti D'Elci and ſeveral other lords. A war continued between Charles, and Peter king of Arragon; and in 1283 Charles died, which again raiſed the hopes of the Ghibellines, and excited them to arms in Romagna, and in the territories of Siena, where they did infinite miſchief, ſometimes approaching and entering the city itſelf. At laſt an army was raiſed, and they were put to flight. If this vigorous exertion had not prevented them, they were in a fair way of regaining the aſcendency in the city, where great diſcontents prevailed; for the government, in 1280, having been placed entirely in the hands of the popular party, as has been re-

1283.

1284.

lated, the gentlemen could not with quiet minds submit to it; and although, by the divisions among them into Guelphs and Ghibellines, they were divided among themselves, it was much feared by the ruling party, that when the enemy should approach the city, they would endeavour, by the assistance of some of the popular men (for these too were divided) to make themselves masters of some part of the state, with their arms, although they had not been able to obtain it by their beans. The Sienese, in determining all questions in their councils, and among their magistrates, made use of beans as votes, white ones for the affirmative, and black for the negative. The governing party knowing that, by the death of Charles, and the other adversities which followed it, the party of the Guelphs was much debilitated, they thought it necessary in this year, 1284, to make many new provisions for the security of the state: among which, as they could not confide in the multitude, they thought to restrain the government to a smaller number of persons, it appearing to them that they could more securely confide in a few, whose virtue being united, would have greater strength than if dilated among many, and that they might more easily agree among themselves, treat with greater secrecy, determine their resolutions, and decide upon execution for the defence of the state. After long and angry controversies they concurred, though with little satisfaction to any body, in one opinion, to satisfy the nobles, that the fifteen magistrates should be reduced to nine; and this was the original of the order of the nine in Siena: and that they might with more convenience attend upon the public, without being interrupted by their private affairs, it was ordained, that they should continue for two months, continually

nually assembled in the same palace, and live at the expence of the republic; and it was declared that in this office, denominated The Nine Governors and Defenders of the Commons and People of Siena, although the nobles were to have a part in all the other magistracies, no noblemen could be elected. The statute says, “De numero, dominorum novem, vel ipsius officii officialis non possit aliquis de aliquo casato civitatis Senensis, nec aliquis nobilis de civitate, vel jurisdictione Senensi. Domini novem, qui sunt, et esse debent defensores communis et populi civitatis Senensis, et districtus, ac jurisdictionis ejusdem, sint et esse debent de mercatoribus, et de numero mercatorum civitatis prædictæ, vel de media gente.” The nature of the animal is no where revealed in stronger characters than in this curious record, where a government in one centre, and that centre a group of merchants, with unblushing heads, exclude not only all the plebeians and lowest class of labourers, but all the artists, mechanics, and men of the three liberal professions, and all the landholders of the country, and monopolize all to themselves, as they would monopolize a merchandise or forestall a market.—There appears a ridiculous variation of the numbers of this magistracy for many years together, as if they thought the faults of the government, which every one felt, were owing to this circumstance; and the same fickleness appeared in all the other cities of Italy, particularly Florence, where the number of priori were once three, then six, afterwards twelve, presently eight \*. This form of government was as detestable to the plebeians as to the nobles;

\* Quare quatuordecim virorum officio, qui mixti ex utroque genere, civitatem regebant antiquato, priores artium creavere, tres ab initio creatos constat, postea sex, inde duodecim, mox octo, publicis ædibus inclusi, nec aliud quicquam,

1285. nobles; and the wars between Genoa and Pisa, and the expeditions against rebellious lords, and the death of four princes in this year, 1285, Charles, Philip, Peter, and Martin the pope, could not prevent the Ghibellines, and the common people, *il popolo minuto*, of Siena from uniting against the nine; for, on the succession of Honorius the Fourth to the papacy in the place of Martin, and after the death of Charles, his son being a prisoner to the Arragonese, a weakness appeared among the Guelphs, and the Ghibelline exiles of Siena took courage, assisted by the people of Arezzo, to take possession by surprise of a Sienese castle, named Poggio a Santa Cicilia, which they fortified: from hence, with troops of horse, they made continual incursions and depredations, not only upon the country of Siena, but other confederated cities of the Guelph party, until the Sienese, after a siege of six months, unable to take it by force, had reduced it by famine, in 1286. A great number of prisoners were made, and, after demolishing the walls, delivered to the podesta to be punished. The people, however, were so oppressed by their popular mercantile government, and preferred that of the nobles so much, that they took their part, rose in convulsions, joined the Ghibellines in arms, and with great impetuosity rushed to the palace, and compelled the nine governors and defenders of the commons and people of Siena, and their podesta, Bartolommeo de Maggi of Brescia, to deliver the prisoners into their hands, to be conducted to the house of the bishoprick, to save their lives. But no sooner had they come out of the palace than the Guelphs, who

*quam de republica cogitare jussi sunt, et sumptus ex publico eis præbiti, tempus autem hujus magistratus bimestre constitutum est. Leonardo Aretino. Malavolti, lib. iii. part ii. p. 51.*

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by order of the magistrates had been summoned, and united with the soldiers of the guards and garrisons, a kind of standing army maintained for the defence of the state, proceeded to oppose and affront the Ghibellines, who with the popolo minuto had excited this sedition, and finding that these, thinking the prisoners safe, had begun to disperse, attacked them with great fury, assassinating many, and putting the rest to flight, recovered the prisoners, and cut off their heads, to the number of sixty-five, among whom were several principal characters. The union of the plebeians, the popolo minuto, with the nobles and Ghibellines against the government of the commons and Guelphs, is not less remarkable than the distinction established by their very title between the commons and people. Both are perfectly natural, for the popolo grasso can never bear to be mixed with the popolo minuto, any more than nobles to be confounded with commons, and the union of the labourers and mechanics with the nobles, against a government of dogmatical merchants, by whom they were oppressed, was as natural as that which has so often happened of the people with a monarch, against the tyranny of nobles and patricians. The general sense of the city upon this occasion appears to have been in favour of the nobles, and their opportunity was lost, merely by the weakness of the human understanding, which seldom knows how to seize with promptitude and decision the critical moment which decides so many great events. The Ghibellines were not, however, suppressed; they continued to assemble in the country, and unite in bodies from various cities, and commit frequent depredations, and lay waste the country both of Florence and Siena. These civil wars continued, without inter-

ruption,



1292. ruption, between the cities and their exiles, with various fortune, till 1292, when Siena became so weak, and the government so tyrannical, as to force the nobles to sell their lands, houses, and castles, to bear the expence of defending that government, from which they were so arbitrarily excluded. Prosecuting the war abroad against the Ghibellines, and plundering the nobles at home, they suppressed both at last, and began to entertain lofty thoughts; built, at the public expence, magnificent palaces for the signori of the commons of Siena, to give the government more authority, majesty, and strength, and the more effectually to trample down the pride of the nobility. To this end, as the ambitious desires of men are insatiable, although Siena was at full peace, and without the least suspicion or apprehension of the Ghibellines, the nine magistrates, who had the absolute power of the city, taking occasion of the many private enmities and personal hatreds, which had grown up and were habitual, and even hereditary, between many noble families, ordered that 300 men should always stand in arms in each third of the city, pretending to obviate any scandalous rencounter that might suddenly arise between one family and another. To these standing guards they gave arms and ensigns, with orders that, at the ringing of the bells, they should all march to the piazza; and a complete arrangement of orders were given, that at the call of the magistrates they should be ready to quell the scandals and quarrels which, to the great danger of the public as well as private persons, they said arose from the discords of the gentlemen: and to prevent the gentlemen in such cases from moving on horseback, or otherwise, they placed at the head of every street, and even

even at every corner, an enormous iron chain, to be drawn upon occasion across the street, and prevent their passage. Under this colour of preventing disorders and tumults, to be occasioned by the discords among the noble houses, the popular party were thus armed, without contradiction, not so much to prevent the pretended disorders, as to secure themselves from any attempt of the nobles, if ever they should unite among themselves to reinstate themselves in their dignities, and obtain a restoration to that share in the government which was their undoubted right; for the consciences of these mercantile demagogues must have taught them, that if the nobles had no more, they had at least an equal right with themselves, or any others, to participate in government; and thus those public arms, which had been provided by their ancestors for the conservation of their country and their liberties, were now most insolently converted into the weapons of civil war, and turned by the cunning of one party against the rights of another: and whether this plague of the city of Siena, and all the other republics of Italy, was produced by the natural pride of the nobility impatiently borne by the people, or by the immoderate jealousy and envy of the people, or whether by both together, it was not the less fatal to all the Tuscan republics, by conducting them to that destruction, to which all republics have been devoted when subjected to any government in one centre, whether that centre be the unbridled licentiousness of the multitude, or the ambitious and avaricious discords of the few. The nobles were at this period persecuted, not only in Siena, but in all the other cities of Tuscany, and deprived of all share in government; and those who were in power held  
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in such detestation the very name of nobility, that, thinking the judgments of others would follow their passions and prejudices, they ordained by public laws, that such as would formally and solemnly renounce their nobility, and declare that they were *no gentlemen*, should become qualified to be in the government, and to be admitted into the supreme magistracy : in such contempt, at this time, and by these men, were held those advantages and that character, which in other places have ever been most ardently desired and sought, at every hazard of life and fortune, and which the sons and descendants of these very merchants have with so much avidity since claimed, insisting on being entitled to the rank and title of nobles and gentlemen, merely because descended from magistrates holding the power of the state. Having thus excluded all gentlemen from the administration of the republic, and extinguished all their hopes of ever recovering it, these tyrants, the nine magistrates, had the assurance to constitute a new regimen, which, under the name of a popular government, tended more to the power of a few, than to the universal or even general participation of law and right ; and this restriction to a few, although it was injurious and oppressive to many, is said to have been more useful to the state, and of longer duration, than if it had been participated by many. Perhaps it is universally true, that if the whole government must reside in a single assembly, it is more safe, peaceful, and durable, in a few hands than in many, an aristocracy than a democracy. Having modelled the government according to their own passions, interest, and convenience, they proceeded to subdue the rebellious mountains and castles in the country. It was in this year, 1299, the house of Austria

Austria had its original, in the elevation of Albert to the empire.

The wars against the Turks, and in Sicily and Flanders, occupied the spirits in some degree till 1302, when the many enmities among the noble houses in Siena were renewed with as much boldness and violence as ever, which occasioned frequent tumults, and continual agitation in the city; parties meeting in arms, sometimes upon one incident and sometimes on another, and many of all sides falling victims to their fury; and, from the number of clients and adherents to these families, all the orders of government for maintaining in each third of the city an armed guard were not sufficient to preserve the peace, and, the magistrates feared, would not long be able to keep the nobles out of the government: they therefore thought it prudent to try another method. When any quarrel broke out, the nine magistrates sent for the heads of those families which were engaged in the brawl, and endeavoured to reconcile them; and in this way they succeeded, in some degree, to reconcile the Malavolti and Salimbeni, the Gigli and Squarcialupi, the Piccolomini and Pelacini, the Tegolei and Malavolti, and many others. The major part of the Guelph cities of Tuscany, in 1303, were delivered from the discords and dangers which they had with the Ghibellines, in consequence of the victory obtained over them at Campaldino; but having nobody to fight with, as if they were incapable of quiet and impatient of rest, the Guelphs divided themselves into two factions, the one called Bianchi, and the other Neri. This pernicious distinction had its beginning in Pistoia, in the family of the Cancellieri, whence, spreading through many other cities, it infected the whole province of Tuscany, and part

- part of Romagna. The city of Siena preserved itself some time from this venomous contagion, though naturally inclined to divisions, chiefly by the constant occupation they already had in their quarrels between the people and the gentlemen, which would not allow time for new contests. This division, however, broke out in Florence, very near them in neighbourhood, where, after many skirmishes in arms, the Bianchi were overcome by the Neri, and expelled from the city; and all the influence of the pope, with his spiritual armour, could not reconcile them. The Bianchi now in exile, though Guelphs, united with the Ghibellines, and, assisted by the Aretines and Bolognese of the same faction, made an attempt, in
1304. 1304, upon Florence; but some cavalry, sent from Siena, put them to flight. The detail of altercations and civil wars, within and without, between these complicated and contradictory mixtures of Neri and Bianchi, Guelphs and Ghibellines, nobles and commons, from this time to
1309. 1309, is too minute to be related, although there was no pause, no interval of quiet. In this year the quarrels between the nobles, particularly the families of Tolomei and Salimbeni, arising merely from their envy of each other, and their emulations in feasting and entertainments, broke out anew. Though excluded from government, though plundered in property, these families had still admirers, followers, and adherents among the people, who made them formidable to the magistrates, gave them more influence to weaken the government, more than they possibly could have done with their whole share in a well constituted state. All the nobles, with all their followers, who were very numerous, became divided by this private quarrel into two parties, as well as the  
multitude



multitude of people, their friends and adherents in the counties, or feignories in the country. Wonderful was the jealousy of those in government, and their apprehensions for the safety of the state; and to secure it, as they pretended, from all danger that might arise, to repress the temerity and pride of the seditious, they ordained, that for every company, in town or country, of forty-two, since the nobility were excluded, there should be appointed one captain and one gonfalonier, as there used to be anciently, when the city made their exercises in the country; that this militia, whenever any tumult should be perceived, and in all other emergencies, should hold their men in arms (but none of the nobility were to be admitted among them, as they were in former times, when the companies were of fifty-nine) and in companies, under the command of the gonfalonier of the third, march in all haste to the palace with their public ensigns, and there receive and obey the orders, which should be given them by the magistracy of the nine. For the same purpose they ordained three centurions, three commanders of brigades, and eleven vicariates, each of whom had his own distinct ensigns and colours. But this whole system of forty-two armed companies, their captains, gonfaloniers, and centurions, formed *in appearance* for the common service, and under colour of suppressing the feuds of the grandees, the principals of the party who governed the city, thought to pursue their own inordinate desire of reducing the government to a smaller number of persons, by means of the public arms, of which, by this artifice, they made themselves masters. They therefore prohibited not only the noblemen, but many of those popular persons who had, many years before, ennobled themselves, and acquired  
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1310.

the name of families, to enjoy the benefit of the law, which in the beginning of the present form of government had been made, that those who would renounce their nobility, and reduce themselves to the popular order, should be capable of being magistrates. Taking occasion of a little tumult, on the 26th of May 1310, which they themselves excited, they sounded the alarm, and called together at the palace their whole military force; and instead of proceeding to suppress riots, or punish criminals, it was there declared, by those citizens who had arrogated to themselves the whole government, that those families which were named in writing should never be of the number of popular families, but they and their descendants, for ever, should be understood to be grantees, and incapable of serving in the office of the nine, then the supreme magistracy, as all of the Ghibelline party had been rendered incapable before: and this practice was common at this period in all the other cities of Tuscany, as well as in Siena, whenever the governing party had a mind to exclude any man from the magistracy, to make him a grandee, which is the same thing as a noble. Ninety families were admonished, as the phrase was, that is, rendered incapable of the magistracy, for being noble, or for being made and declared so, a number that comprehended all the families of any distinction or consideration. Having thus reduced the government to a small number, by excluding every body but themselves, they became very assiduous in attending the magistracy, in order to make the most of it; and in a short time they acquired so great an authority, so much wealth and power, that they became formidable not only to the nobles, but to that part of the people which was not admitted by them into the government.

ment. Holding down all others, they established their own power in the state so oligarchically, that, like other despots, they were obeyed by every one from fear. The Ghibelline exiles, however, made frequent inroads upon their territories; and the disqualified families had so many friends, that these nine magistrates were kept in continual alarms. In 1313 some of the nobles appeared to have so much influence, that the government thought it necessary to re-enact and republish their militia law, and the law of exclusion of all the nobles and grandees, depriving them of all the honours, offices, and privileges of the commons. They sometimes thought themselves so secure that they might recal their exiles, then would suddenly seize and imprison them; and were generally employed in foreign or domestic wars, or in quelling some rebellion, till 1315, when a fresh quarrel broke out between the Tolomei and Salimbeni, two nobles families, and produced tumults and battles in the streets, in which much blood was shed, and the city thrown into such confusion, that the militia, when called out, would not, or could not, obey the orders either of the magistrates or their own officers. The whole people took arms, and sided with one party and another, some for government, some for the Tolomei, some for the Salimbeni, till the nine issued a proclamation, that, upon penalty of life and fortune, both parties should appear in their presence, before a candle, which they had burning, should be consumed.

Wars and tumults occupied the citizens till 1318, when, upon the disbanding the army at the peace with the city of Massa, the troops and the people in general, who expected to have plundered it, were very discontented, and two classes of

tradesmen, the smiths and the butchers, began a riot in the city against their captain, calling him traitor, and collecting tumultuous bodies of the multitude. The captain, finding himself in great danger, contrived to escape their fury, in which he was favoured by some noblemen, who, by entertaining the people with soft words, composed their anger, and, as they had neither any head nor guide, they were easily persuaded to go home. Although this tumult was quieted in appearance, the minds of the citizens were much altered, and there was danger of fresh commotions. To avoid greater inconvenience, seeing that the greater part of the plebeians stood in arms through fear, with their shops shut, to defend themselves from punishment, the magistrates absolved them from all penalties incurred by those who had been in arms in the late tumult, and commanded, under grievous penalties, that every one, laying down his arms, should return to his business. It would have been a notable thing, if, in a factious city like Siena, quieted as it was from foreign wars, new seditions and civil wars had not been fomented within : but discontents with the government were now universal. The nobility, the plebeians, and the middling people, being all excluded from the government, excepting the nine, were all oppressed and all provoked. The doctors, as they called the judges and notaries, were of a rank and character as nearly in the middle between the nobles and plebeians as any. These, excited by the persuasions of the other persons, and moved by their own interest, came forward, and demanded or petitioned the nine to be admitted into the government of the city, and to be declared capable of serving in the supreme magistracy of the republic. Reasons the most solid and cogent, as they

they thought, were urged by them, to shew that their pretensions were but just and reasonable. It appeared to the nine signori, that this petition was impertinent, and an offence that merited not only correction, but a severe chastisement; and having rejected it with much bitterness, they declared the punishment of which those shall be adjudged worthy, who, from such *interested motives*, should seek to disturb the civil orders, and interrupt the common quiet of the city. The doctors and notaries they dismissed from their offices, and declared them incapable of holding any office in the city or country. This high-spirited edict excited the indignation and despair of the doctors and notaries, and they entered into a conspiracy with the butchers, smiths, and other plebeians, to assassinate the whole nine, with all their adherents, take possession of the palace, make themselves masters of the state, and appoint one of the Tolomei, who favoured the enterprize, podesta, another nobleman captain, a third proconsul, and thus to distribute all the offices of state among their leaders in the conspiracy. With this intention, on the 26th of October, 1318, the conspirators arose in a tumult, raised a loud cry against the nine, and demanded, with arms in their hands, a participation in the government; but they were soon met by a large body of cavalry, and three hundred infantry, who were then kept in pay, to be sent to Genoa in the service of king Robert, and whom the nine magistrates, having some intimation of this enterprize, for their security had ordered out, not willing to trust their own guards alone. A furious battle ensued, and much bravery was displayed on both sides; but as the commotion had been excited by the plebeians themselves, and was encouraged but faintly by the nobility, chiefly with

a view to try their strength, the forces of government prevailed : yet the plebeians sustained the shock with more firmness than was expected ; and, if they had been judicious enough to wait till the regular troops were gone to Genoa, would have carried their point. The greater part of the gonfaloniers, centurions, and captains, concurred with the multitude, in desiring to acquire the benefits of civil life, and the rights of citizens ; but the magistrates were favoured by one part of the gentlemen, who were not well pleased that the government of the city should be reduced totally into the hands of the plebeians, and thus obtained from Florence some forces, under the command of Bingeri Rucellai, by whose assistance the multitude were finally dispersed, being first disheartened by the non-appearance of their leaders. Some of the leaders of the butchers, &c. were beheaded, and Rucellai rewarded with the ensign of the white lion, the arms of the people of Siena. When the tumult was quieted, and the city purged by the punishment of the principal delinquents, the nine sent succours to king Robert at Genoa, and to the Guelphs at Brescia, Cremona, and Perugia ; and thus they became employed in all the wars abroad :

1324. but even this was not enough, in 1324, to prevent the feuds between the two noble families, the Tolomei and Salimbeni, whose hatreds produced many murders and assassinations, many other single combats, besides more general and more sanguinary actions between parties of their followers in the streets, both by night and by day. In 1325 the Guelphs were defeated by Castruccio Castracani, signior of Lucca, near the castle of Altopascio, in which he made a great slaughter, and many prisoners, and brought both Florence and Siena into imminent danger ; but this was not sufficient



sufficient to prevent another tumult, in which the podesta took one part, and the captain another, many were insulted, some slain, and the disorder not suppressed without grievous fines and capital punishments.

In 1326 Walter duke of Athens, vicar of the duke of Calabria in Florence, came to Siena, and demanded the seigniorship of that city, in the same manner as he had obtained that of Florence. The demand appeared to the citizens very strange, though they treated him with great magnificence. They thought it proceeded from a very bad principle, and worse intentions, considering the sincere and affectionate attachment which they and their ancestors had ever, with the utmost veneration, demonstrated for his house, and the great and many tokens of fidelity, which from their actions might be known, towards king Robert, king Charles the First and Second, and towards all their connexions on all occasions: and as it appeared to them, that they were outrageously insulted, and by him from whom they least expected it, they suddenly rose in a great tumult in arms, and, drawing the chains across the streets, shut up their gates, lest the Florentines should send a reinforcement. They prepared not only for defence, but, their suspicions increasing, with all their forces to attack the lodgings of the duke himself at the bishop's palace, and give battle to his people. Such a commotion and concourse of so numerous an armed multitude, under so many standards of their companies and vicariates, demonstrating that in this the city was united, and not divided, as had been represented to the duke, upon the supposition of which division he had founded his demand, spread a terror among his followers; and demanding to speak with the magistrates,



gistrates, it was agreed, that the requisition of the duke should be referred to a senate: and such an assembly was accordingly congregated, to the number of four hundred and eighty senators, who, after long debates, having regard both to the liberty of the republic and the honour of the duke, determined that Charles duke of Calabria should have, for five years, and no longer, power to elect the podesta of Siena from the number of three, who should be proposed to him by the people of Siena; that he should not, however, be called podesta, but vicar of the duke, on condition that every vicar, before he should take upon him the office, should take an oath to observe the laws and statutes of the city of Siena; and the citizens well knowing of how much detriment to cities are divisions and animosities, the duke easily persuaded the Salimbeni and Tolomei to make a truce for five years.

1328. In 1328 the nine magistrates made a census, or description of the families of the city, third by third, and there were found eleven thousand seven hundred and eleven heads of families in the whole, nobles, grandees, substantial people, and lesser people, all together.

The calamities of famine and pestilence, as well as war and sedition, which happened in 1329. 1330. and 1330, though the magistracy of nine discovered too much insensibility, and too little activity, to relieve the people, we pass over, as evils not proceeding immediately from the form of government, and too afflicting to humanity to be related.

1331. In 1331 a fresh affray happened between the two great families of Salimbeni and Tolomei. The inveteracy with which ancient and honoured families take hold of a nation, and become interwoven,

woven with each other and the whole people, so that it is impossible to get rid of their influence, appears very strongly on this occasion. Though excluded and robbed, they could not dispute without setting the whole city to disputing. The rencounter between two noblemen, in which one was killed, produced the assassination of another, and the whole city took the part of the one or the other, and tumults and commotions in arms threatened universal ruin, till the government issued a proclamation against the two principal actors, offered rewards for their lives as assassins, and raised a force to confirm it, which obliged them to fly to Ferrara, where they and the other Tolomei, their descendants, were long afterwards known by the nickname of The Assassins. But this could not prevent fresh tumults and homicides in Siena, between the same families, in 1332; nor others between the Malavolti and Piccolomini, in 1333, which were renewed in 1334, notwithstanding the employment the city had, through this whole period, in foreign affairs. In 1335 the league was renewed between the Guelph cities, and particularly between Siena and Florence. In 1337 an accommodation was attempted between the quarrelsome nobles, but without much effect; but in 1342 their ungovernable passions broke out again in homicides and general tumults.

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In 1343 the duke of Athens attempted to promote his own ambitious views of obtaining the sovereignty of Siena, by pretending to mediate between the nobles and the nine, and to reconcile them with each other; but his dissimulation was not profound enough to deceive either party. In this year there were three conspiracies at once against the duke of Athens at Florence, and the government of Siena sent ambassadors to his

1343.

assistance; but the people in their fury had committed great disorders and many homicides, and finally besieged the duke in his palace for a time, and then drove him out of the city: after which, by the advice of the Sienese ambassadors, they reformed their government, instituting eight priori, four of them noble and four popular; but this form was soon demolished, and the government became as popular as that of Siena itself; the nobles were excluded, and tempted to renounce their nobility, in the same manner, and with the same whimsical, odious, and vicious effects.

1344. In 1344 the counts of Santa Fiore, and the visconti de Campiglia were made citizens of Siena, and subjected their lands to the republic. In
1346. the year 1346 another memorable commotion happened. Such is the nature of the people, that, ever desirous of seeing new things, they hold frequently in contempt those that are present: governed more by their wills than their prudence, and excited by vain hopes and immoderate desires, they are too often easily stimulated to enterprises, which, if regarded with an eye of reason, would be found impracticable. The government of the nine, by the length of time, by their arbitrary exclusions, and by their more arbitrary restriction to so small a number, were grown so odious, not only to the nobles, but to a great part of the multitude, that neither could patiently bear that a few popular men should enjoy every thing, and be masters of all men, when it appeared to them that others had more merit. From conversations and consultations they proceeded to action, and many popular men having associated under Spinellocchio Tolomei, they rose in a mighty tumult. There is no room to doubt that they would have risen long before, and not have suffered such a government

government to stand a month, nor indeed to be erected at all, if the Tolomei and Salimbeni, the Malavolti and Piccolomini, could have agreed who should be the leader. The divisions of the nobles among themselves had alone lost them the government, and prevented their recovering it. The people in those days, and in that city, were utterly incapable of planning or executing any enterprise whatever. A noisy uproar of "Away with the Nine\*!" ran through the city; but the insurgents not having been able to force the palace, and having in vain attempted to enter several houses of the nine magistrates, which were well guarded, some of them entered the house of Berto di Lotto, where there happened to be an entertainment, and found John Foscherani, one of the principal men in the government. Him, with his son, who exerted himself nobly in defence of his father, they assassinated. The perpetrators of this murder, intimidated with the apprehension of punishment for what they had done, and perhaps made cowards by remorse of conscience, rushed out of the house, and committed themselves to flight for safety; the rest retired to the houses of the heads of the conspiracy, thinking to assemble a greater number of their partisans, and again to try their fortune. This attempt, however ill-digested and unsuccessful, excited a terror in the magistrates, perceiving that a part of the nobility had concurred in it, and fearing they had not force sufficient to suppress it. They found means, however, to defend themselves, by a strong guard, in the palace, till they received assistance from Florence, and other places in alliance with them, which enabled them to apprehend the conspirators, by

\* Muoiano i Nove.

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means of the captain of war, many of whom were beheaded, and others declared rebels; after which they entered into a new league with the popular government of Florence, for mutual support against such insurrections. This convention was concluded between the syndics of the commons of Florence, and the syndics of the commons of Siena, each party obliging itself to aid, favour, and support, with their councils and arms, the other, and in every way to operate for the conservation and maintenance of the peace between them, and the internal tranquillity of each, under the office of the signori, priori of the arts, and the gonfalonier of justice in Florence, and that of the signori of the nine governors and defenders of the commons and people of Siena, declaring that whatever conspiracy or insurrection should be made against the magistrates or government of either city, should be understood to be made against the other, and its whole force exerted for the destruction of the conspirators. In 1348 another confederation was formed in Siena between the cities of Florence, Siena, Arezzo, and Perugia, and a large army raised by them; and in 1352 another against the Visconti. In 1354, being at peace, and without much apprehension of any foreign war, there did not fail to arise in Siena persons who spent their time in exciting new discontents as well as fomenting old humours, which they hoped would soon arise to seditions and civil war; for those who, with the authority of the nine, had so long governed the city, had acquired, together with great power and immense riches, much envy among their fellow-citizens. This envy and resentment had, upon many occasions, given birth to conspiracies and various enterprises for wresting the authority out of their hands; and

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although they had defended themselves, and punished the principal delinquents, they had never been able to eradicate the seeds of sedition so effectually, but that many remains of it were left in the minds of their adherents, which went on continually increasing by time, till the magistrates were seriously apprehensive that the little people would attach themselves to Charles the emperor, and by his assistance depose them. Desirous of prepossessing themselves of his favour, and moved by the persuasions of one of the Salimbeni, whom, on account of his enmity to many of the noble houses, they had taken into their confidence, they sent ambassadors to Charles, to offer him the obedience of the city; and, so ill a counsellor is fear, the majority, much against the judgment of many of their colleagues, were for submitting freely, without any exception, or making any conditions, hoping by his assistance, or at least without offence to him, or opposition from him, to re-establish their authority; not considering, that having always been Guelphs, and by so many offences provoked the past emperors, particularly Henry the Seventh his grandfather, it would be impossible for him to judge whether they submitted from fear or necessity, or to confide in their fidelity. But the hour was come when this form of government must be changed into another. Charles having in all appearance benignly accepted the offer, dissimulating his intentions, came to Siena; and soon after his arrival the little people, *il popolo minuto*, by Charles's orders, and guided by the Tolomei, Malavolti, Piccolomini, Saraceni, and even some of the Salimbeni, with a great and universal commotion of the whole city, rose and drove out of the public palace the nine magistrates, not without robberies and murders committed by the rabble,



ble, who burnt the caskets and boxes in which were kept the ballots of the nine magistrates, which every two months were drawn, one by each magistrate, for two months to come. Charles, by whose consent and orders this novelty had been committed, gave a commission to twenty citizens, twelve popular and eight noble, to think of a new plan of government. The twenty elected for this purpose, in three days, ordained that a new magistracy should be instituted of twelve popular members, and intitled The Twelve Signori, governors and administrators of the commonwealth of Siena, to be elected four from each third of the city, and, as the nine had done, to reside in the palace at the public expence, and to be changed every two months, with full authority in every respect to administer the government of the republic, in company, in all their deliberations, with twelve noblemen, four for each third, who might inhabit in the city in their own houses, without being obliged to live in the palace, except when they should be summoned to assemble with the twelve signori for the public service, and dispatch of business, as it should occur; and this number of noblemen were called the College, without whom the signori could not come to any resolution, or enter on any deliberation relative to the government of the city. A council, moreover, of four hundred citizens was ordained, one hundred and fifty of whom were to be nobles, and two hundred and fifty populars (of those however who had not been of the office of the nine) who were to be elected and changed every six months, and this was called the General Council. The emperor, Charles the Fourth, after he had taken the crown, returned from Rome, and remained some days at Siena, where, finding little good understanding between the people and the nobility,

nobility, he took occasion from their discords to attempt to make himself master of the city and the state, and to invest it in the patriarch of Aquilea, his natural brother. To this end he courted the people, making many demonstrations of benevolence, with many favours which he did them in public and private, and he operated upon them so that they were content to give him the sovereignty, and put him in possession of the fortresses; and in this manner the patriarch, having taken the government of the city, the twelve signori and the noble college finished their office. The emperor, felicitating himself that he had provided his brother with a beautiful dominion, took leave of Siena, and went to Pisa; there, entering into negotiations to make himself master, as he had done at Siena, he met with some difficulties, which soon multiplied upon him, in consequence of the novelties which sprung up in Siena: where one party of the citizens, not able to support the sovereignty of the patriarch, which trampled down the nobles and first populars, and studiously strove to aggrandize the minute people and the multitude, upon whom he justly thought his greatness depended, arose in arms, closed the gates of the city, and demanded that the magistrates of the signori of the twelve governors and administrators should return and reside in the palace, and, together with the college, reassume the government of the republic; and that the chains which used to be drawn across the streets, which on the entrance of the emperor had been taken away, should be replaced. Three days the city stood under arms before they obtained of the patriarch their demand. At length the magistrates were reinstated, and the chains replaced. A new rumour was then spread in the city concerning certain strangers, who had been taken up, who,  
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it was reported, came for the service of some noblemen. The little people, from jealousy of state, and suspicion of plots and machinations, would have them hanged; but the nobility, with many of the \* greater people, defended them. Upon these occasions there was no adequate mode of deciding such questions but by arms; to these they accordingly resorted, and the twelve signori sent to Pisa to demand aid from the emperor, who was found in great perplexity; and fearing that, by the inconstancy of the people, the patriarch might meet with some fatal accident, he answered, that, upon condition they would consult his brother's safety, they might model their government as they should think proper; that he would not take any part in it, as he had no particular knowledge of their disputes. The prisoners were therefore only confined, and the patriarch voluntarily renounced the sovereignty to the twelve magistrates, who were already returned to the palace, and the day following restored the fortresses, and joined the emperor in Pisa, leaving the city and state free, and the government, which he had held for a few days; in the hands of those magistrates from whom he received it. In this manner came to an end the government of the nine, who with so much

1283. temerity, from 1283, when this form had its beginning, under the protection of the king of Naples, and the union of the Guelph cities in Tuscany, had governed, and, it must be owned, aggrandized the republic; and those popular men who had been of the nine were not only deprived, with all their descendants, of the capacity of being in the government of the twelve, but it was by a law enacted, that in the volume of the statutes

\* Molti de maggiori popolari.

the nine should be erased, and the word twelve written in its place, in such abhorrence were they now held by all men. These decrees of the new government, it is true, were as arbitrary as any of the former; but the whole history of this republic is but a series of changes, from one unbalanced party to another. The citizens who had held the last government were nicknamed the nine; and this name descended by inheritance to their posterity, and gave rise to the order of the nine, and became the principle of those divisions, which went on increasing among the people of this city, and became so sanguinary as to make them forget the distinctions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, nobles and populars; for the government of the republic was afterwards again reduced wholly into the hands of the people, and again restrained to a few, the desire constantly increasing in the popular multitude, first to participate, then to monopolize the whole, as it afterwards happened in the creation of the twelve, who became eligible exclusively by the little people.

The emperor soon returned to Germany, and the Sieneſe ſoon found their new ſyſtem as defective as the former. The whole government was ſtill in one aſſembly, and though the nobles were leſs than half of it, they appeared to have the whole power, as they always will when mixed with the commons. The noblemen proceeded in their offices too arbitrarily; the ſplendor of their birth and riches, accompanied with the public authority, acquired them too much credit, too impoſing an influence, and, in their uſual ſtrain, according to the lofty pride of their natures, they muſt needs govern all things. In order to diſcharge the duties of their offices, by exerting their authority, for the honour and utility of the ſtate, in defending its dominion, as well as to ſatisfy  
their

their own ambition, they had laid their hands upon the public arms. In the deposition of the nine, the subjects of the state, seeing so great an alteration in the city, and that those who had been used to command were deprived of all power, and with so much cruelty and rancour persecuted by the other citizens, thought that by such divisions the public must be too much weakened to defend the city, much less the dominion; and embracing this opportunity, Grosseto, Massa, Montalcino, Montepulciano, Casole, and other lands in the jurisdiction of Siena, had refused obedience to the magistrates of the city, and to the patriarch, for the few days that he held the sovereignty. The new government, and especially the nobles, were very zealous to send out forces to suppress these rebellions, who succeeded against Massa; but the inhabitants of Montepulciano attempted to practise a deceit: they sent a false letter to the twelve, promising submission, in order to amuse them, while they were in reality carrying on their military operations. This letter was delivered to the signori of the twelve, who, without calling in the college of the twelve, as, according to the constitution, they ought to have done, opened and read it, and perceiving, by many manifest circumstances, the imposition, they hanged up in the piazza him who had brought the letter. The multitude were collected together by this execution, and the nobles were much exasperated that the letter had been opened, and such business done without their knowledge, and contrary to order. The popular leaders of the day took occasion of this commotion to accomplish their own desires, sallied out with a great noise of arms, put themselves at the head of the mob, went to the houses of many noblemen and of the nine, with intention to put all to



pillage, and force the noblemen to renounce the magistracy of the college, and would have proceeded to infamous lengths, if the gravest and most moderate citizens had not appeared, and persuaded the nobles to obviate all inconveniences by renouncing the government, in which they had discovered the best and sincerest intentions towards their country, and not more arbitrary dispositions than the popular men. The council next day ordered, that three noblemen only, one for each third, should be admitted into the government, with the title of The Three Defenders; but these in a few days were deposed: That similar tumults might not happen every hour, and throw all things into confusion, they concluded to give an head to the twelve magistrates, and the public arms, by whose orders alone the gonfaloniers, captains of companies, and centurions, were to move. Instead of a captain of the people, whom they used to elect among foreigners every six months, they ordained that some citizen of Siena should be elected every two months; that he should be a popular man, and one of the twelve administrators and governors, at whose deliberations he should be present as a member. The captain was afterwards commonly elected in addition to the number of twelve. The government thus organized, they proceeded against the rebels.

Before the end of the same year, 1355, the plot of Gano, di Benedetto Macellaro, and his friends, was discovered. These were the principal heads of the plebeians, the little people, that very faction that governed the city. Considering that, by the inconstancy of their own multitude, it might happen to their own government of twelve as it had happened to the nine, they determined, for greater security and firmness to the state, to re-



duce the government into the hands of one man, who, by his wisdom, virtues, and the public authority, might, by crushing all seditions, consolidate and maintain it. Signior Meio di M. Giacomo Tolommei, who they knew had been always favourable to the plebeians, and desirous of making himself powerful by their means, to defend their liberty, was selected by them as the man of the people; to him they communicated their intentions, and found him very well disposed to conform. Other writers have said, that the first motion came from Meio, who persuaded the heads of the plebeians to confer with their friends: however this might be, they were all frequently seen together in the house of Meio, to consult upon measures for the execution of their plan. The visits so often made by so many plebeians to this house were observed, and the twelve magistrates conceiving a suspicion, gave orders to the conservator, who had been introduced instead of the captain of war in criminal matters, to imprison Gano, and the others, who were heads of the conspiracy. Upon examination they confessed, that it was their intention, for the public good, to take the government from the twelve, and give it to Meio Tolommei, who might more easily preserve the city free from seditions and civil wars. Gano's head was struck off; and the others, who enjoyed the favour of some grandee, a thing that in ill constituted cities is eternally superior to justice, were confined; but Meio, who with many others had fled from Siena, was with them declared rebels, and his palace demolished.

1357. In the year 1357 the emperor Charles the Fourth confirmed all the privileges of this popular government, and made the magistrate who governed the city of Siena vicar of the emperor.

In

In 1362 Giovanni de Salimbeni, upon receiving some injury, or at least taking some offence at the government, made himself the head of a conspiracy of many noblemen, and many of those popular men who, for having been of the magistracy of the nine, were admonished, and rendered incapable of office, to take the government out of the hands of the twelve, and restore it to the nine. But the secret was revealed to so many, that one at last informed the government: the plot was ordered by the twelve to be inquired into, and a very great number of considerable people seized, some beheaded, others banished, and others imprisoned, and all this without any regular process of law or formality of trial.

1362.

In 1363 a new magistracy was created, and called the Regulators, who had the care of revising the accounts of those who had the management of the public money, to see that the commons were not defrauded.

1363.

In 1365 fresh quarrels arose between the Malavolti and Tolomei, and a plot was discovered of the Piccolomini against the government of the twelve; and these families were subjected to heavy fines for their punishment, probably because the government had not strength to inflict a severer chastisement. And this timidity appeared to be well founded in another instance the same year, when their ambassadors returned from Rome, one of whom being attached to the nobles, had given offence to the twelve, by speaking freely against them in his absence: he was cast into prison; but the government were not able to punish him with death as they intended, for six noblemen appeared in arms to defend him. These instances, with many others, shew, that however arbitrarily or severely the nobles and most revered families

1365.

- are excluded, they will ever have a controuling influence over the government, when in one assembly of commons only, sometimes by secret practices, at others by open force. Indeed, such families are always in reality the heads of the factions that tear the state, though, in appearance, they have no share in it, as appeared more plainly
1367. the next year, when those twelve who had the government in their hands were afflicted beyond measure with fears of new animosities and insurrections against them. They found themselves divided into two factions, one called the Caneschi, and the other Grasselli, the former the favourites of the Salimbeni, and the other of the Tolomei. Knowing that the nobility were irritated by the late imprisonment of their friend the ambassador, and by the design which the twelve had discovered, by means of false testimony, to take his life and confiscate his estate, if he had not been defended by the nobles, they looked out for foreign aid, and sent to the pope to obtain it: they sent also ambassadors, some noble and some popular, to the emperor, to sound his disposition towards the republic. Among these was John Salimbeni, a man of prudence, very useful to the state, and in high reputation abroad. His death at this time was a public calamity; for the twelve, dreading the union of the noble houses, artfully introduced and excited among them every provocation to arms, to keep them divided, and excite one family against another. The nobles at last perceiving the malicious artifice, secretly united among themselves, and stimulating a greater hatred to one
1368. another than ever, on the 2d of September, 1368, the first families armed themselves, accompanied with their friends and adherents of all parties, as if they intended to come to a decisive battle  
against

against each other, and thus unitedly, at one time, turned their arms against the magistracy of the twelve, and drove them out of the palace, taking possession of the arms, and, without putting any to death, made themselves masters of the city and the state. At once they new modelled the government, ordaining a magistracy of ten noblemen, and three of those popular men who had been of the nine, took possession of the fortresses, and sent ambassadors to the emperor to obtain his confirmation of their new authority: but they found that ambassadors from the twelve, and those plebeians who still adhered to them, had arrived before them, to solicit Charles's aid to recover their power; and had filled the court with slanders, to such a degree as to move the emperor's compassion in their own favour, and his indignation against their antagonists. He therefore amused the ambassadors of the latter with false promises, while he sent Malatesta di Rimini to reinstate the former; a design in which, by the treachery and ambition of the Salimbeni, he succeeded. As soon as it was known in Siena that Malatesta, with his forces, were approaching in the neighbourhood, the little people, in the interest of the twelve, arose suddenly and tumultuously in arms, and, with the assistance of the Salimbeni, forced open the gates to admit the imperial army, not without an obstinate battle, however, which continued the whole day (September 24, 1368) and great slaughter. The government was thus again taken from the nobles, their houses plundered, and themselves driven out of the city to their castles in the country. The multitude of plebeians having tasted with the government of the city the sweets of public honours, power, and riches, combatted furiously upon this occa-

sion; and having, by the aid of Malatesta and the Salimbeni, been victorious, they reformed the government. Excluding the nobles, they instituted a council of one hundred and twenty-four popular men, whom they called The Council of Reformers, because to them was given authority to reform the constitution. Sixty-two of these were of the plebeians, or little people, thirty-five of those popular men who had been in the office of the twelve, and twenty-eight of those who had been in the office of the nine, or of their descendants or associates, who governed with the participation of Malatesta, who was in Siena the lieutenant or vicar of the emperor after the expulsion of the nobles. These having held the government of the state twenty-two days, and inhabited the palace of the signori, reinstated the magistracy of the twelve, composed of five of the little people, four of the twelve, and three of the nine, who had been in the magistracy of the consuls, together with ten gentlemen, and determined that all these should be called The Twelve Lords Defenders of the People of Siena. They made a new box of magistrates, in which they put fifty-one ballots, in each of which was contained a magistracy of twelve citizens, with the distribution before mentioned of five, four, and three. By this we see, that a complete aristocracy was established, and a very narrow one too, such as may well be called an oligarchy, by this faction of the little people, or plebeians. The choice of magistrates was confined to fifty persons only. They created also a general council of six hundred and fifty popular men, preserving the same proportion of five, four, and three, to continue till January next. To this council they joined another, called The Council of the Companies, to the number of two hundred and forty; and this is  
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the first time that in the public books was written and preserved the memory of the divisions among the people : and thus, by creating magistrates expressly and avowedly by distributions of factions, of orders, and of mountains, as they did afterwards, they made their discords immortal. Animosities, kept alive by these records, not only cost the lives of an infinite number of individuals in the frequent and bloody innovations which followed, but finally proved the destruction of the whole commonwealth, and the establishment of the domination of one man. So says the historian : but whether these records had existed or not, the calamities, and the issue of them, would have been the same, if they had not changed their government from one assembly to two, and separated the executive authority from both. Scrambling for loaves and fishes, in an assembly of people, or representatives or nobles, or in a mixture or union of both, will for ever have the same effects. These reformers annulled all the deliberations and decrees made by the late magistracy of the nobles, except those which contained the liberation of the banished and condemned. Wishing to reward the noble house of Salimbeni for the benefit received from them, they gave them, in honour and recompence of their perfidy against the other nobles, five castles ; and moreover, with privileges proportioned to their merit, they made them popular citizens, that they might be capable of being in the magistracy. The Salimbeni were the first who, after the example of Manlius, the first of the Romans, who from a patrician made himself a plebeian, and from a similar caprice, renounced his nobility, that by the aid of the plebeians he might make himself master of the liberties of his country. So says the historian : and it is true



there is a remarkable resemblance between the rivalry of Manlius and Camillus, and that of the Salimbeni and Tolomei; and both examples are equally demonstrative of the dangers and evils of a sovereignty in one assembly. There will ever be two rival families to tear the vitals of the state, and one or the other, perhaps both, will sacrifice truth, right, honour, and liberty, to obtain the ascendancy. The nobles, now chased from the city, met at Cerreto Ciampoli, to consult what they ought to do to regain their situations in the city. The magistrates of the twelve having intelligence of this assembly, declared six noblemen of the house of Cerretani rebels, which obliged them, with the others, to look out for some strong place to make the seat of war. As they were to be treated as enemies, one part of the Tolomei took possession of the castle of Montieri, another that of Traguanda, the Malavolti occupied Castiglione, the Piccolomini Batignana, and others other castles, from whence they began to make war upon all the country of Siena, to intercept the supplies of provisions, to demolish the mills, and to carry their depredations to the very walls, holding the people in continual alarm and terror, and the city in a manner besieged, so that few had the courage to go in or out. The twelve defenders, in order to disunite the nobles, pardoned all the others, and banished only the Tolomei, Malavolti, Piccolomini, Cerretani, Sarra-cini, and Forteguerri, to the distance of twenty miles in the country, in lands subject to the emperor, upon penalty of life and fortune. This proclamation was not obeyed, and an army was sent, under command of the podesta Simone di Spoleto, elected by Malatesta, to recover from the noblemen the lands they held of the commons  
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of Siena; but returned without success, to wait a better opportunity. It appeared by this time to the order of the twelve, that they had been immense losers by the change of government; because in the government of the nobles they had been deprived of nothing, but enjoyed the full share of the faction of the twelve, without the participation of any other: at present they only shared a third part, and being stimulated by ambition, which oftener measures things by its will than its prudence, did not consider those dangers which concealed themselves under their immoderate desires. They persuaded the little people, that by joining with them they could easily exclude, by force, the order of the nine from the regency. The people joining them in arms, soon put the plot in execution; but the same people, finding so easy and happy a success, rose in their courage, as they had no arms in their hands, began in their turn to think more of their own convenience, profit, pleasure, and utility, than of their honour, integrity, or the public good, and, without ceremony, deprived the twelve also of their share in administration; and burning the gate of the palace, and the major part of the public books, with a great noise, and universal convulsion of the city, dragged out of the palace the three of the nine, and the four of the twelve, who resided in the office of the twelve lords defenders of the people of Siena. To avoid more scandalous excesses, and to put an end to the tumult of the people, who would not be satisfied nor quieted without a new order to reform the government of the city, by transferring it to the little people, or (to distinguish them more clearly from those other popular men who had been of the party of the nine and of the party of the twelve) to those  
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who were truly the plebeians, and altogether new men, because (as the plebeians said in Rome, when, in high wrath against the nobles, they created Terentius Varro consul) those plebeians, who had already been ennobled by serving in the government, despised the lower plebeians (*la plebe bassa*) more, and shew themselves more inimical to them, than the ancient nobility, Malatesta entered the palace, and elected eighteen of the little people, who, together with the five of the same sort who remained in the palace of the twelve defenders, and three gonfaloniers of the thirds of the city, and four of the noble house of Salimbeni, reformed anew the government of the republic. These meeting, without loss of time, in the consistory, which is the apartment where the signori usually assembled, with Malatesta, confirming the council of M. Reame di M. Notto Salimbeni, made an election of ten of the little people, who, with the five who had remained in the palace, were to exercise the office, now augmented from twelve to fifteen defenders of the people of Siena, until the beginning of January next, with the same authority which those had who exercised the office of the twelve governors and administrators of the republic of Siena before the second day of September last. Thus the new magistrates were all made of popular men, who had not been of the nine, or of the twelve: and to the eighteen reformers, from the others ordered by Malatesta, they added a certain number, by the distribution of the companies, who, with the fifteen lords defenders, made the number of one hundred and fifty reformers, all of the lesser people, who, with ample authority given them by Malatesta, as imperial vicar, were to reform the government. The twelve now perceiving their error,

error, and that, by attempting to usurp upon others, they had lost their own, they sent, with the privity of the Salimbeni, to negotiate with the emperor yet at Rome, to the end that, passing on his return through Siena, he might effect their restoration to the state. The popular men of the greater number, still denominated in the public books *The Little People*, having information of that effort of the twelve, and considering that, if the twelve should unite with the nobles and the nine, and be assisted by the arms of Charles, they might easily make themselves masters of the city, and seize the government, thought it more prudent to yield a part by consent, than run the risque of losing the whole by force. Moved by this consideration (such is the inconstancy of the multitude!) the reformers ordained, that those factions which had been dragged from the palace should return, and reside in their offices with the fifteen defenders till the first of January, at which time they were to join in the ballot, and draw, from the boxes already made by the other reformers, three popular men, of whom the one who should have the most votes in the council of the reformers was to be captain of the people, who proved to be Matteino di ser Ventura Menzani, so that the magistracy consisted of the number of fifteen, of whom eight were of the little people, four of the twelve, and three of the nine. They declared, moreover, that the gonfaloniers of the thirds of the city, different from the gonfaloniers of the companies whom they were to command, should be called *Master Gonfaloniers*, and should always be of the little people, as the captain of the people; and the three counsellors of the same captain should be taken, one from each sort of people. This captain, with his counsellors

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and master gonfaloniers had full authority, in fact, though not according to the orders in the statutes, and a discretionary power in all criminal cases, but not in civil. From this reform had its first original the order of Reformers; for this name of reformers remained afterwards in those popular men who were of the council of the last reformers, and descended to their posterity, as it happened before to the nine and the twelve, all of whom had their origin from the people. This tripartite division appeared to the reformers to be a most powerful cause of divisions and discords, which they wished to prevent, and therefore ordered these distinctions to be annulled, and the whole people to be united in one body, and that, when in any writing there should be occasion to mention the little people, it should be called the people of the greater number; that the party of the twelve should be called the people of the middle number; and the nine, the people of the lesser number\*: but although the names of the factions were changed, the substance of things was not united. As these distinctions arise from that constitution of human nature, and course of its passions, which legislation is not

\* This record is very curious, and worth inserting.—Item considerantes, dicti providentes, quod ex divisione populi, civitates destruuntur, et annihilantur et magnam divisionem præbet, ordo factus per alios reformatores, quo cavetur, quod officialis eligantur per quinque de populo parvo, quatuor de gente duodecim, et tres de gente novem, eoque ubi debet populus esse unitus. Sit tri partitus, et ideo provideretur, quod dictum capitulum et ordinamentum, sit cassum, et sit totus populus Senensis unicus, et unum corpus censeatur, et, siquando, in aliqua scriptura esset mentio facienda de populo parvo, dicatur de populo majoris numero, et si de gente duodecim esset facienda mentis, dicatur de populo mediocris numeri, et si de gente novem, dicatur de populo minoris numeri.

yet perfect enough to alter, or to remedy, but by making the distinctions themselves legal, and assigning to each its share, whatever it may be hereafter, the same discords remained among the popular men, and preserved always the same distinctions in the public books. They ordained further, that of the officers of merchandise, or chamber of commerce, there should be two of the people of the greater number, one of those of the middle number, and the other of the lesser number, while the nobles should remain out of the city; but in case they should return, instead of one of the two of the greater number, a nobleman should be elected; and this rule they followed in after-times, electing one nobleman and three popular men; and by this order it became a declared point, that the nobles were not comprehended in the people, but were distinct from them. They further ordained (correcting the order given concerning the mode of electing the three popular members, who were to be joined to the twelve of the ballot, to be drawn every two months, to make the number of fifteen defenders) that by the council of reformers should be put into the boxes a hundred for each third, and that in drawing for magistrates eight should be drawn for each third, and made many other provisions to consolidate, as they said, the popular state, which were very displeasing to the twelve, who could not endure that the nine should be restored, and the greater part of the government should be taken out of their hands. They could not sit easy under this mortification, but with the favour of the Salimbeni they frequently stirred up fresh tumults, which Malatesta with his soldiers had trouble enough to suppress. The twelve, with the Salimbeni at their head, still restless, applied to the emperor, and made him  
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great offers to assist them in new modelling the government. The emperor would not agree without the consent of the senate or general council, which was sometimes upon great occasions called together. Being assembled at this time to the number of 869, they refused their consent; but by a vote of 721 confirmed the present form, imposing grievous penalties upon all such as should speak or act any thing against it, or attempt any alteration in it. The twelve, perceiving by this that they could not succeed in this way to obtain their unconquerable desire of mastering the government, deliberated upon the means of securing by arms, what by intrigue and fraud they had not been able to acquire: they flattered themselves, that by the interest of the family of Salimbeni they could procure the aid of Cæsar's arms. While in Siena, through the discords excited by the twelve, the public remained in this fluctuating state, the nobles in exile made frequent inroads into its territory with their cavalry, plundering and burning at their pleasure, and holding the city in a manner besieged. The emperor taking advantage of this, laboured with both parties to lay aside their animosities. A truce was agreed on, and arbitrators or mediators to settle the pretensions of all parties. The mediators assembled in a church, but the twelve and the Salimbeni studied to prevent their determination. The people and the nine were willing the nobles should return. The twelve and the Salimbeni persuaded the emperor to negotiate with the pope to send a legate; because, seeing the people and the nine concur in the return of the nobility, it appeared to them they should be too inferior in force and influence to their enemies without the aid of foreign arms.

Parties remaining in suspense and suspicion of one another, neither dared to lay down their arms. At last it appeared to the twelve, that, by favour of the imperialists and the pope's legate, they had acquired enough to be superior, and, not willing to loose the opportunity, they made Niccolo Salimbeni their head, and with many foreign troops they began the uproar, and, with a great show and noise of arms, crying, *Away with the traitors of the nine, who wish to restore the nobles!* they ran through the third of the city, and having met Scotto di Minuccio, who was captain of his company, they killed him, because he had given his opinion for confirming the boxes of ballots and the government, and proceeded to the houses of several families of the nine to assassinate them. Not finding them, because they had fled for safety, the twelve, with their mob, ran through the whole third, plundered the houses of the nine, and then marched to the palace, and, with the connivance of Malatesta, who appeared in the piazza with his armed men, they drove out the three of the nine, who were of the fifteen lords defenders, and aspiring at a complete victory, they made the emperor move from the house of Salimbeni, where he was lodged, by giving him hopes, that by going in person to the palace he would have the city at his devotion. On the other hand, the other twelve magistrates seeing dragged out of the palace three of their colleagues, tormented with indignation at the indignity of the insult, and at the danger they were in of losing the government, suddenly gave orders to the companies, and sounding to arms, so great a multitude of people assembled in arms in the piazza, and in such a rage, that the captain of the people, taking courage with his colleagues

leagues to turn upon the twelve, the Salimbeni and podesta drove them out of the palace. The battles which ensued in the city were obstinate and bloody ; splendid feats of valour were displayed on all sides, but they are unnecessary to be related. The government was finally triumphant, at least their military commander had all the power of a dictator. Negotiations were soon opened between the principal men and the emperor, and it was concluded that the same government should stand, under the emperor as its sovereign lord, and the city should be considered as a vicarage of the holy empire. But of what avail are treaties or decrees, or agreements, when the government remains in one assembly ? The emperor was scarcely gone out of the city before fresh plots and treasons of the twelve and the Salimbeni were discovered, and new tumults against the nine. The lords defenders, together with the council of reformers, to put a stop to these disorders, were obliged to create a new office, which they called the Executor, and gave him great authority in criminal matters, even to proceed discretionally, and without observing the orders of the statutes. But with all this there was no security in town or country, and justice was so corrupted, that an infinite number of assassinations and robberies were committed with impunity. Certain travellers at last were robbed and murdered in the neighbourhood of the castle of Monteggioni, and several men from the castle ran out with their arms, took four of the men who had committed the robbery, and, without sending them to the city, or waiting for any trial, hanged them on the spot ; and as this example was followed by the people in the country, the roads began to be more secure, but in the city the insurrections still continued. The executor having obliged  
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to return into the city all the popular men who had not been banished nor declared rebels, it happened that one Niccolo di Guelfo, of the order of the nine, in some quarrel killed Niccolo di Legacci, and wounded two others of the order of the twelve, who, happening to be present, attempted to defend him. At the rumour of this a great disturbance arose, and numbers of people collected, and fell into skirmishes, in which many were killed. To quiet this commotion the lords defenders placed guards of soldiers in the palace, in the piazza, at the gates, and many other places, confined eight of the principals of the order of the nine, and sixteen of the order of the twelve; and the delinquents having fled, the tumult subsided. Propositions of an accommodation between the nobles and populars had been made by the mediation of the marquis of Monferrato; but as little progress was made in it, and the nobles were impatient, they took the castle of Batignano, and approached to Montepulciano, with the exiles from that territory (for every village had its disputes between the great and the little, and its revolutions, triumphs, and banishments) who had intelligence with the popular party within, by whose aid they entered, and made prisoner of Jacomo de Cavalieri, who had made himself lord of the place, and intending to save his life, they threw him into prison: but the plebeians were not satisfied with deposing him and plundering his property, but, to satiate their revenge for the injuries they thought they had received from him, went the next day to the prison, and watching their opportunity, assassinated him, and every one cut off a bit, as if they were desirous of carrying his flesh to market. The nobles were so

enraged at this against the people, that they fell upon them, killed many, and drove others off the territory. When they had done this, they set up another government, and that a popular one (which is remarkable enough), and departed. The marquis of Monferrato, who had undertaken the mediation at the request of both parties, but saw that all his pains to restore harmony between the nobles and populars would have no effect, departed from Siena, and went to Florence, whence he communicated his award to Malavolti, who represented the nobles, and Guerieri, who was ambassador for the popular men who governed the city. The decree, however, as he had foreseen, was accepted by neither party. One article was, that the Salimbeni should release to the republic the castles which had been given them; and that they should no longer hold the standard with the arms of the people, nor the infantry, which the magistrates had given them for the guard of their persons. Upon the rumour of this, a part of the people, who followed the faction of the twelve, made a tumult, declaring that they would not degrade the honour nor lessen the grandeur of the Salimbeni, and several persons of consequence were killed in this riot. At this time the castle and land of Pian Castagniano was taken by the count de Nola, captain of some men of the church; and it was said that the Salimbeni, contrary to their compact with the commons of Siena, when it was given to them, had sold it. This report produced tokens of great dissatisfaction among the citizens in general, and especially when the same count, within a few days, reduced the lands of S. Salvatore to his obedience, and held it as if he had been its sovereign. Moved at this loss,

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the fifteen lords defenders sent an ample force and recovered it. It now appeared to the Salimbeni that the popular men, by the loss of Piancastagnano, were disgusted with them, and had not the same confidence and affection for them, as they usually had before this accident happened : wherefore; considering what might occur, being enemies of the other nobles, and not very acceptable to the popular men, they solicited the Florentine ambassadors, who were in Siena, to treat of peace between the nobles and those who governed the state, and of a reconciliation between them and the other nobles ; and in a short time both points were accomplished, with little satisfaction, however, to those who governed the state, though in appearance they pretended the contrary. While the Florentines were treating of a peace between the nobles and commons of Siena, Odoardo di Mariscotti thinking the proceedings too slow, and desirous to hasten them, began from a castle of his to infest the roads with his highwaymen, robbing and assassinating the merchants and others who travelled that way, which incited the magistrates to send out an army, and take and demolish his castle, destroying many of his people, and bringing him prisoner to Siena. The same army the day after marched to Campriano, where they subdued another band of the nobles, employed in intercepting provisions in their way to Siena. Campriano they took by assault, and destroyed the fortress, after having slain in the action three of the house of Tolomei, three of the Piccolomini, two of the Scotti, and one of the Mariscotti, with many others. The castle of Cotone was obliged to capitulate ; Castiglione fought nine hours incessantly, and in the battle lost some of the Tolomei, and some of the Ma-



lavolti, and many others of the nobles, but the place was taken, plundered, and burnt : after which the army returned to Siena with a great number of prisoners. There did not remain many of the nobles united together, capable of doing much damage to the dominions of the republic. On the other hand, the popular men, the more to consolidate their power, having seen the unanimity of the nobles, by order of the last reformers, erected a company, whom they called the Grand Families of the People, which should endure to perpetuity among those popular men who should be elected by the reformers for the conservation of the popular state of the city, and of the company itself, into which no nobleman could be received. Every member was to take an oath to observe the rules ordained for the maintenance of both the state and the society; and many exemptions and immunities were granted them. Every one whose name was subscribed to the association, was to hold the arms of the people painted in some conspicuous place of his house; from which institution are seen at this day, over the doors of many houses, the white lion. They had also the privilege of bearing the white lion in their own proper arms, and many persons availed themselves of it, as is seen in the arms of many families still remaining: all who were not of the association of the people were forbid to bear it in any manner. These and other regulations being made, desirous of preventing the incursions, and repairing the damages done by the nobles in the country, they collected a numerous force, and went with it to their castles, and seized sometimes upon one and sometimes on another, not meeting any power that could resist them, till the republic of Florence, to whom, on the

1369

13th of May, 1369, had been referred the difference between the people and the nobles, made their report, to the great satisfaction of both parties. The award was dated the last of June 1369, and, among the other articles of the peace, the nobles were to be restored to their country, and be made capable of all the magistracies of the commonwealth, except those of lords defenders, gonfaloniers, and counsellors; and this was ratified by the popular men in a general council. The nobles in ten days ratified it on their part, to the wonderful satisfaction of the city and the state, as they hoped to put an end to so many miseries. The reformers afterwards, for the maintenance of the peace, as they said, ordained grievous penalties for any one of the nobles who should offend any of the people, and it was made capital for any one to strike or draw blood from any one of the council of reformers; and to show that affairs which interest many ought to be considered and made known to many, wishing to increase the number of that council, which was not at that time more than 150, on the 22d of August, 1369, they added those of the little people, who had been of the first reformers after the expulsion of the nobles, and those of the same people who had been of the lords defenders since January 1368, or should be in future master gonfaloniers; and wishing to reform the council of the people, it was ordained by the general council, that all the people, of whatever number, who shall have been of the lords defenders, or of the twelve governors, after the 23d September, 1368, should be understood to be of the council of the people; and from this the practice began, which continued as long as the republic, that those who had been

of the signori were of this council. It was likewise ordained, that when any thing should obtain in the council of the people, which ought to be proposed to the general council, and the bells were ordered to ring for a general council, sitting the council of the people, the members of the council of the people should be members of the general council; and by this order the general council was converted into the council of the people, and was congregated no more during the commonwealth. The public was very much in debt, and had not the means of satisfying its creditors; it was therefore ordained, that all those who had lent money to the commons, and ought to be reimbursed, should be arranged in three different books, according to the distinction of the thirds of the city, and made creditors, each one, in the sum total of his credit, with orders that the chamberlain should pay at the rate of ten per cent. every year to each creditor: and this union or consolidation of the public debt was called *il monte*, the mountain, or the lump; and this practice was afterwards repeated upon various occasions; and these were the provisions, which were punctually paid off by the chamberlain in the time of the republic, but were imitated afterwards by the arbitrary government of one, which succeeded it, merely to abate the debt of every one, who had lent money in the ordinary loans. We see by this, that in those days republicans had some regard to honesty and the public faith, and the infamy of defrauding creditors was left to the absolute monarchy.

The number of the reformers being increased, their authority increased every day, and with it the desire of reducing the office of lords defenders wholly to the little people, called the people of  
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the greater number. To this end, having in 1370 excited certain tumults among the journeymen and labourers in the woollen manufacture, who were the very lowest of the people, who inhabited along the coast of Ovile, and these meeting frequently together, called themselves the Company del Bruco, because such was the ensign of that country; many of these, having taken the occasion of some quarrels with their masters in the woollen trade, and guided by one Dominico, a retailer of old cloth, raised a great uproar, beating some and threatening others; and being armed in great numbers, as it was a year of scarcity, they turned to the houses which had the reputation of having some grain, where, through fear, it was given out to them. This quieted them for the present moment, till three of their leaders were taken up by the authority of the senator, and, upon examination, confessed crimes enough to condemn them to death. Upon this arose again in arms all those of the company del Bruco, and with hideous noises running to the palace of the senator, and with menaces of burning his house, insolently demanded the three prisoners, and with great fury began to fight with the officers of justice, and to collect materials for applying fire to the gate. The captain of the people, who was Francesco Naddo, perceiving the danger in which the senator was, and that the city was all in arms, took the resolution, in order to prevent by the public authority the disorder from increasing, to go in person and endeavour to suppress it. With his standard and trumpets before him he arrived at the palace of the senator; but finding it impossible to allay the fury of the plebeians otherwise, he made the senator set at liberty the three prisoners, and returned to his palace, believing

that the company would lay down their arms as they had promised; but having come off conquerors in this warfare, and committed a robbery on justice herself, they acquired so much presumption, that, running with great violence to the gate of the palace of the signori, and finding it locked, they raised a loud clamour, that the four lords of the order of the twelve, and the three of the order of the nine, should be banished, and they attempted in several ways to accomplish it by force; but finding them well defended, they ran to the palace of the Salimbeni, to avail themselves of their assistance and authority. Having in the way rencountered Nannuccio di Francesco, who had been a few months before captain of the people, because he had upon that occasion favoured the order of the twelve, they assassinated him. The Salimbeni would not move nor intermeddle in this sedition: they therefore took from them the colours with the ensign of the people, which, as associates of that faction, they still held at their window, although they had made a peace with the other nobles. From the gonfaloniers of Camullia and San Martino they took likewise their standards, and having given them to others, they returned to make a fresh attack upon the palace; and being repulsed from thence, they sent a party towards Camullia to attack the house of the Salimbeni, against whom they were bitterly enraged, because they would not concur in this revolution. Meeting a company of noblemen of the houses of Salimbeni, Malavolti, Tolomei, Renaldini, and others, in considerable numbers, who had made a great exertion, and taken arms to quell this tumult of the plebeians, the parties went to action immediately, and the noblemen were many of them killed,



killed, and the rest routed : and although many men were elected to endeavour to quiet the disturbance, they not only found no means of suppressing, but they found it impossible to prevent it from increasing every moment in violence ; until one morning, in the month of July, the company of the people arose in arms, with the company del Bruco, and dragged from the palace the four lords who resided there, of the order of the twelve, and three of the order of the nine, instead of whom were elected by the people of the larger number seven others, to reside with the eight who remained in the palace, and fill up the number of fifteen signori. But suspecting that, by their having thus reduced into their own hands the whole government of the city, the other citizens would be provoked to make an alteration, the council of reformers, to whom full power had been given by the general council, resolved that the names of those of the twelve and the nine, who had been pulled out of the palace, should be returned into the box of the freemen, so that they might be drawn another time to reside in the same office, and enjoy the same privileges, as if they had remained in the palace two months entire. The order of the twelve, however, not being satisfied with this regulation, conspired with some of the nine, aided by the captain of the people, who, although he was himself of the popular order of the greater number, was of an elevated spirit, and could not bear, that with such indignity the state should be reduced, in his time, into the hands of men of such base condition, entered into the conspiracy, sent them the master gonfaloniers, with their arms, who united with the conspirators, and unexpectedly attacked those of the company del Bruco, in their own houses, on the coast of Ovile,  
and,



and, before they had time to get their arms and make a stand, assassinated a great part of them, and became exasperated into such rage and fury, that they had no consideration of age or sex, but murdered without distinction all who came in their way. At the same time the company of the people having risen, combatted in the piazza, and in several places of the city, with great ferocity, and the twelve, with their conspirators, remained in many places superior; but a stone, cast from the tower of the palace, fell upon the gonfalonier of San Martino, who with his company, returned from the coast of Ovile, combatted in the piazza, and struck him to the ground, and every one, who saw him, believed him to be dead. By this accident his party was seized with a panic and fled, and gave an opportunity to the popular party to gain the superiority, and break and rout the conspirators. A part of the principal leaders of the conspiracy were taken prisoners, together with Francino, captain of the people, and Magio Calzolaio, gonfalonier of the third of the city; and on the first of August, 1371, without letting them finish the term of their magistracy, a most miserable and horrible example was set, by cutting off their heads publicly in the piazza: at the same time, they beheaded many others; but the two other gonfaloniers, having saved themselves by flight, were declared rebels, with many others, and a new reformation of the state was resolved on. The reformers made a new box of magistrates for five years, continuing the office of the fifteen defenders, of whom twelve were popular men of the greater number, who were afterwards called reformers, and three popular men of the smaller number, who were those of the order of the nine, and in place of Francino was substituted, as cap-

tain of the people, Landino Fabro : and confirming the usual order, they resolved, that with the lords defenders should intervene the president of the council of reformers, who was changed every third day, with his counsellors, although in the magistracy they had joined four of the little people, in place of those whom they took away of the twelve, to give a more decisive superiority to their faction. They admonished and disqualified all those of the people of the middle number who had been of the twelve, and twelve families of the people of the lesser number, who had been of the nine, and some of the people of the greater number, who had been numbered among the reformers, who had agreed with the twelve. Two hundred and twenty-eight were condemned in pecuniary penalties ; and all those who were condemned were called, without distinction, *Fini*. A number of men, both horse and foot, sent by the Salimbeni for the service of the twelve, arrived at Torrenieri, but learning the turn of affairs, returned back. To the number of the reformers afterwards joined themselves almost all the lesser artificers ; and for the security of the state they had from Florence a hundred cavalry. The public, by great expences and little government, being without any appropriation of money, that they could avail themselves of, the reformers introduced the practice of selling the public revenue, besides the confiscations and penalties, for three years, which did not obtain more than three hundred and eighteen thousand golden florins. This commencement of the usage of selling the public revenues, which was continued from this time, was the reason why the public was always in debt : selling for a small price, which was not sufficient for the necessary expences, illegal practices were the

the consequence, and from thence new seditions, which finally accomplished the ruin of the republic. The twelve did not cease to move many things to the prejudice of the reformers, because the capacity of being in the magistracy was now taken from them. For security their arms were taken from them, and placed in the chamber of the commons, and the captain of the people seized many of them on suspicion, and they were in great danger of losing their heads.

1372. The year following the conduct of the twelve occasioned the same suspicions. The nobles themselves were never more impatient of exclusion, nor more eager to try every expedient to recover their share in the state. The nobles, indeed, were not only injured, but had a right to complain. The twelve were injured, but they had only that wrong done to them which they had set against the nobles, and they ought to have recollected

*Nec lex est justior ulla  
Quam necis artifices arto perire sua.*

But if the rule of doing as you would be done by were the rule of life, and observed by all men, there would perhaps be no need of government at all. The twelve, to be sure, did not think their own case and that of the nobles parallel, but were indefatigable in insinuating, sometimes into one, and sometimes into another of the little people, that it was neither profitable to them, nor honourable to the public, to suffer those reformers to *tyrannise* over the city; and they frequently succeeded in drawing over to their side partisans, with whom they proceeded to consult of the means of carrying their intentions, to take the government out of the hands of the reformers into effect. They opened themselves to so many, that at length  
the

the machination was discovered, and numbers taken up; among whom was Ser Cecco d'Andrea, the man of the highest reputation with the twelve, who was beheaded; and of the others, some were imprisoned, others fined, and those who had escaped by flight were banished: and Ser Agnola d'Andrea was condemned, because, having made a dinner for some of his friends at his country house, no reformer was invited. Other instances of the grossest prostitution of the judicial power were attempted by the vulgar tyrants, who now had the sway. Giovanni Calzettaio, who was one of the council of reformers, prosecuted one of the twelve for striking him. Niccolo Rosso da Tarano, the podesta, upon examination of the parties face to face, found evidence of the malicious fraud of the reformer, who, to give a colour to his false accusation, that the other had broke the law, by which it was made capital to strike or draw blood of a reformer, had struck and drawn blood from himself; and had the integrity to imprison the complainant, who was found to be so abandoned a fellow, and had so many charges brought against him of atrocious crimes, that the podesta adjudged him to have his head cut off under the gallows, since it was not lawful to him, being one of the reformers. Justice, it seems, though attempted, was not yet so prostituted but that many others were chastised for enormous crimes; but the most of the criminals being of the people of the greater number, who were the dominant faction, and held the great part in the government, tumults were generated in no small numbers among the multitude. But when Antonio di Orso and Deo Malavolti were imprisoned for having carried off a young woman with her own consent, and, to satisfy the plebeians who were in arms, beheaded, and half a dozen other noblemen

noblemen for other crimes executed, the plebeians were pacified and softened by the blood of so many nobles, and that insurrection, which had been raised to save the lives of the condemned plebeians, was quelled. When all were returned to their habitations, and their arms laid aside, the senator, Louis della Marca, ordered to be seized four of those who were the heads of the late sedition to obstruct the course of justice, and sentenced them to be hanged; others he imprisoned, and some were fined. The senator, among so many controversies, rumours, and tumults, as occurred during his administration, although ex debito justitiæ he had been obliged to order so many executions, run a great risque of being assassinated in those popular seditions of multitudes, who were offended by him, and both himself and his family were under no small apprehensions. In such a state of society the human heart pours forth all its turpitude, and all parties appear to be equally abandoned. The signior of Perolla, a castle of Maremma of Siena, died, and left an only daughter heir to the estate and the lordship. 1373. Andrea Salimbeni, who was a relation, went to visit the young lady, by some fraudulent stratagem, which is not explained, put her to death, and made himself patron or tyrant of the place, and, with a gang of people under his command, committing robberies on the highways, and all the neighbouring places, rendered it unsafe to pass in that quarter. The same of this was soon carried to the Sieneſe, who sent out a body of men, under the command of the senator, and the 23d of 1374. April, 1374, took the place, and carried Salimbeni, with twenty-eight others, prisoners to the city. Sixteen of these in a few days were beheaded by order of the senator; but either from respect



respect to the family, or from fear of their power, he did not proceed against Salimbeni. Upon this the company del Bruco again arose in arms, with the other plebeians, and running to the palace, with threats demanded of the lords defenders that justice should be done upon Andrea Salimbeni. The captain of the people, the two priores, and their colleagues of the lords defenders, found themselves so mean in spirit, so infertile in council, so unskilful at their own game, that not knowing any better way to prevent the evil from increasing, they gave authority to Noccio Sellaio to do in that emergency, whatever he should judge useful to the commonwealth. Noccio seizing ardently this opportunity, by which he thought to gain the hearts of the plebeians, and by their favour raise himself to power and superiority above his fellow-citizens, entered into the palace of the senator, and sitting down in the midst of an immense crowd, on the bench from whence sentence was usually given, condemned Andrea Salimbeni to death, and ordered his head to be struck off before the public. Intending to dispatch Pietro Mossa in the same manner, he was prohibited by the major part of the reformers, who began to perceive his design, and to see the error which the lords defenders had committed in giving him such an authority : and although he had at his heels the company del Bruco, and the other lowest plebeians, they revoked the power that had been given him. This measure excited a great tumult in the city ; but the reformers, being united, were able to quiet it. Niccolo and Cione Salimbeni, with others of the same family, and their associates, moved with indignation and grief at the outrage which had been committed upon Andrea, took from the commons of Siena the castles of Montemassi and Boccheggiano, and with large companies went about, committing



committing depredations in many places in the country. The reformers, to make preparations for recovering their lands, and for making head against the Salimbeni and their followers, created a new magistracy of ten citizens, to superintend the conduct of the war. The first provision made by this new council of war was, to imprison twenty-six citizens of the order of the twelve, and condemn them in twelve thousand golden florins, which were immediately paid. Was the robbery of Salimbeni worse than this? They next sent to demand aid of Florence and Lucca, and obtained it; but ambassadors were sent from Florence, Perugia, and other places, at the same time, to make peace if possible, knowing that their own discontented and distracted factions were ready to break out: but the Salimbeni would not listen to any thing, because the ten had sent an army in force to the castle of Boccheggiano, with orders and instruments for destroying the walls, crossbows, and precipices, and other things which in those days were used in war to fortify the lands. On the other hand the Salimbeni, having collected together many of their friends and adherents, watched a convenient opportunity, sallied out from their lands, and attacking their enemies without the least expectation, broke their order, put them to flight, took many prisoners, plundered their camp, and burnt all the frames, bastions, buildings, and instruments they found there. As soon as this defeat was well known in Siena, the relations of those many citizens, who remained prisoners, ran in arms to the houses of the Salimbeni, and seized all they could find of those families, that they might hold them as hostages to redeem their own relations. Neither the plague nor famine, both  
 1374. of which raged this year, 1374, could prevent  
 continual

continual plots of the Salimbeni and the twelve to recover the government of the city, and constant skirmishes and wars between them and the reformers and lords defenders throughout all the territories of the republic. In the year following ambassadors were sent from several friendly cities, to persuade peace between the reformers and the Salimbeni. The reformers, desirous of lessening the number of their enemies, in 1379 restored all the rebels who had been denominated Fini, and banished in the time of those seditions, which were made by the gonfaloniers and the twelve; and of these they made useful guards for the palace, &c. The nobles, however, were employed in forming parties in the country, and in negotiations with their friends in the neighbouring cities, till, in 1384, they were able to meet the reformers in the field, and give them a complete overthrow; and if they had pursued their victory, such was the astonishment and panic of the reformers in the city, they might have made themselves masters: but in this their fortune befriended them. Finding they were not pursued by their enemies, they assumed some vigour and courage, and gave orders to guard the gates, and suppress the seditions which were moved in the city against them, and sent abroad for foreign aid. Florence, Pisa, Bologna, and Perugia, hearing of so great a change, and fearing greater civil discords, sent ambassadors to Siena, to endeavour to re-unite the nobles in exile, and the popular men who governed the city; but, after trying every mode of negotiation, and every proposition of accommodation, with both parties, they found they could make no impression upon either, and returned home. It was the opinion of the reformers, that the Florentine ambassadors, from some interest of their republic, in their secret negotiations

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1379.

1384.

1384.

tiations with one party and the other, had been the cause that the peace had not been effected, as, both sides appearing to be weary of the war, was generally hoped and expected. The time was come when the magistrates, the lords defenders for the months of March and April, were to be drawn; and the council being assembled, and the ballots drawn, Giovanni Minucci, one of the lords defenders, was captain of the people. When the council dissolved, they perceived no small tumult made by the citizens of the order of the twelve, who said, they did not know for what reason the power of participating in the honours and cares of government was taken from them, rather than from other popular men, and that they no longer would tolerate the abuse; and although the disturbance appeared to subside for the present, the twelve, fomented by the gentlemen, who were very active, and had made themselves masters of a great part of the dominion, and who promised the twelve, in all events, to assist them with men, arms, and provisions, to the utmost of their power, for the common service against the reformers, did not cease to demand, with great animosity and many threats, that a place should be given them in the magistracy. These motions of the twelve, favoured by the nobles, gave much molestation to the heads of the government; and therefore, that they might not have to defend themselves against too many enemies, on the 23d of March, 1384, they congregated in the morning the council, and obtained that the twelve, in the new draught, should have place for the sixth part in that magistracy, by increasing the number from fifteen to eighteen; but, as experience has ever proved, gratitude shewn, and remedies applied, out of season, have little effect. When council was finished, at noon day Cestelli, a seditious man of the order of

the twelve, was taken up by the ministers of justice ; and standing in his defence, and calling with a loud voice for assistance, multitudes of the twelve and the nine hastened, at his cry, to his relief, and took the prisoner by force from the officer, who had already drawn him from the hill to the piazza. Upon this riot, Materazza and Nerini, accompanied by a great number of reformers, intervened, partly by their authority, and partly by their arms, to recover the prisoner. They fell with great impetuosity upon those who had rescued him, and denouncing vengeance and death on the twelve and the nine, as obstructors of justice, cried, " Long live the Reformers !" At this cry the whole city rose at once in arms, and, with those of the twelve and the nine, went to the few noblemen who remained in Siena ; and having taken the entrance of the piazza, prevented the plebeians from passing in to the aid of the reformers, and, from the houses of the Scotti and Saracini, annoyed the multitude of reformers, who in the piazza combated against their friends. The contest had become general in various parts of the city, and it appearing to the nobles, the twelve, and the nine (as the major part of the plebeians ran to the service of the reformers) that they had the disadvantage, at the instigation of a Jew they began to cry, " Peace ! Peace !" At the hearing of this word, industriously resounded in various parts of the city, a great number of the little people, as distinguished from the plebeians or the rabble, wearied out with so many seditions, and united with the nobles and their adherents, ran with great fury to the prisons, and set at liberty all the prisoners, among whom were M. Ugucione and Niccoluccio Malavolti : these, taking the lead of the whole multitude, attacked the whole

army of reformers, and, urged on by the keen desire of vengeance for the injuries received, combatted with such intrepidity as to drive them out of the piazza, after having made a great carnage, and many prisoners. They instantly entered the palace, and, although the people within made a gallant defence, took possession of it, and drove out the lords defenders and reformers, not only from the palace but the piazza, and took from them the administration of the republic, both in the city and the country. This revolution was followed by the usual train: in a few days were sent into exile more than four thousand men of the faction of reformers, chiefly artificers; and, what is worse, when in the course of a few years their affairs were accommodated, not the tenth part of them returned to their country. Thus ended the government of the faction of reformers, and this new species of sovereignty in one assembly; but only to be exchanged for another, consisting of nobles, twelves, and nines. The exiles of all these three parties now returned in great numbers from all the neighbouring cities, provinces, and countries, and brought with them a strong body both of cavalry and infantry. We may now expect to see the government shining with the splendid names of Salimbeni, Malavolti, Piccolomini, Tolomei, and all the rest; but we have no reason to expect justice, liberty, order, peace, or common decency. The new government was instituted in a new magistracy of ten citizens, to be changed every two months, and intitled the Lords Priors Governors of the City of Siena, into which number were to be admitted four popular men of those, who had been of the twelve, four of those who had been of the nine, and two of the people of the greater number of those,

1384.

Lords  
Priors  
Governors.



those, however, who had not been of the council of reformers, nor of the lords defenders; and thus the people were divided into four factions, the Nine, the Twelve, the Reformers, and the People, and of these discordant materials, in one assembly, were the legislative, executive, and judicial powers to be composed; and this mode continued till 1387.

The order passed in a general council, establishing the new regimen, in 1385, and the scrutiny for magistrates was made for eight years, and the names put into the boxes, a practice which was analogous to that in Florence which they called imborfation, which was putting the names into purses, to be drawn out upon occasion. Those who had now the most votes in the general council were assorted together in forty-eight ballots, one of which was to be drawn every two months. The first draught was now made, and the lot produced a ballot, in which were the names of Andria Cicerchia, and nine others: these took upon them the magistracy of lords priors governors. The 28th of March, 1385, the tumults were quieted, the soldiers disbanded, the fortresses of the dominion rendered to public commissaries, many remunerated for their services, fireworks played off, and many feasts made, and incredible manifestations of joy, and ambassadors sent to all confederated cities to inform them that the city was delivered from the tyranny of the rabble, and the palace cleansed, which had been once thought an Augean stable. Twelve of the principals of the conquered faction were put to death by the course of justice, and thirty sent out to the frontiers, and the major part of those, who had fled, declared rebels and enemies pro more revolutionum; and by order of the council of petitions, by authority

1385.



given them by the general council, their castles were restored to the Salimbeni. But the envy of fortune, according to the historian, and the malice of their constitution, according to truth, would not suffer this felicity to be enjoyed for one year. The Tolomei were now returned, and living in the same city with the Salimbeni; and this fact alone, under such a plan of government, would be enough to give the reader an anticipation of what would be the consequences. Conspiracies were formed in the country among the friends of the exiles, and by companies of depredators, who began to be troublesome and to do mischief in the dominion. The Florentines too began to set up claims upon parcels of territory; and while this dispute was in negotiation between the ambassadors of the two people, a plot was discovered, to the great terror of those, who governed the city, commenced by a part of the family of Tolomei, who, in concert with some popular men, who intended to restore the reformers, had drawn towards the city certain foreign troops, in an irregular manner, from different places, and entertained secretly in several of their fortresses. These troops hearing that their destination was discovered, and impossible to be executed, as many citizens were already imprisoned on account of it, retreated, and the prisoners confessing the truth, were condemned to death. Yet the lords priors, with the rest of their faction (for the government was never any more than a faction) were in trouble enough, knowing the danger they were in from the divided minds of their fellow-citizens, and from the hatred and immortal enmity which the Florentines appeared to bear them. This storm was averted by submitting the dispute with Florence to the mediation of Bologna, and by the cession of many lands. One conspiracy

spiracy was scarcely suppressed, and a foreign war declined from fear of themselves, before another was discovered of greater moment, and a more pernicious nature, than the first, excited by M. Spinello Tolomei, and a great number of reformers, and others, who had such intelligence in Siena, that it seemed to them easy to effect a revolution, and make themselves masters of the state. But as many examples, both ancient and modern, demonstrate, conspiracies made by a multitude, through the variety of interests of those who are comprehended in it, have seldom attained their intended end; and the greater part of conspirators have lost their lives and their fortunes, because the design has been revealed by such as had rather be rewarded with security, than stand in danger of their lives, when a suspicion has gone forth in the public; so conspiracies of lesser numbers have been equally unfortunate, through the want of power to carry them into execution. The reformers, excited by Spinello Tolomei were betrayed by one of their associates, and one of their chiefs, Nanni di Data, was beheaded: but Tolomei was too powerful a man for such a government to dare to make an example of; he was therefore admitted to a treaty with the magistrates. Soon afterwards the count Guido di Santa Fiora submitted to the commonwealth, and after him Monaldo di Visconti di Campiglia.— Another 1386, conspiracy was discovered in Siena among the reformers, under the conduct of Spinello Tolomei. A spy, whom he sent with a letter to his correspondents in the city, was intercepted, threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed in the fall, and a few of the conspirators were beheaded. The city by these continued plots, so often discovered, was kept in constant terror, as

was every village and castle of the whole dominion: for example, in the castle of Casole was awakened a violent sedition; the Casolans were divided into two parties, and coming to arms among themselves, skirmishes happened every day, and many were killed, and more wounded. The same mischievous divisions were suffered too in the city of Massa. Montepulciano likewise was governed by a single assembly of signori, who by their divisions occasioned similar seditions and civil wars among themselves, and their different parties excited a long war between Florence and Siena; at the conclusion of which the Florentines, by their intrigues, laid the Sienese under many disadvantages, which would have been greater, if at this time it had not been known that the Sienese were in

Galeazzo. intimate correspondence with Giovan Galeazzo Visconti, lord of Milan, who, after having taken the city of Verona, had, with a great increase of his power, taken the city of Padua, and made prisoner of Francesco da Carrara, who was lord of it. On the

1387. 26th of November, 1387, to give some satisfaction to the people, who began again to shew signs of discontent, it was determined in Siena, that to the number of the ten lords priors there should be added one of those popular men, who had been reformers; and it was declared, that when mention should be made of the persons of those, who were of the reformers, and who might be admitted to reside in the office of the signori, and who called themselves of the people of the larger number, the same should be understood of their fathers, sons, brothers, by the masculine line, and those who had been admonished between 1371 and 1384 should be comprehended in the number of the other popular men, who had not been of the reformers nor signori; and if any of the monte of the nine (for  
this

this was now the name of distinction) or of the monte of the twelve, had been of the said reformers, they might be signori for the monte of the people of the greater number; but his person only should be considered of the reformers, and not any of his ancestors, descendants, or connections; but these should all remain in the monte (heap, lump, or collection) of which they had been before. They ordained moreover, that of the chamberlains and notaries, who were eleven in number, four should be of the nine, four of the twelve, and three of the other popular men. And whereas in the other magistracies there used to be in each two nobles, one of the twelve and one of the nine, there should now be added one popular man, who had not been either of the nine or the twelve, and thus in each of those magistracies there should be two nobles and three populars; that is to say, as it is expressed in the record of the deliberation of the council, “one of the nine, one of the twelve, “and one of the other populars;” and of these other populars, one at one time was to be of those who had been reformers, and of the signori, for the monte of the people of the greater number, and one other at another time of those of the same monte, who were not of the reformers, nor the lords defenders: and by these provisions, those who held the government in their hands studied to conciliate the friendship of the little people, and take away, in some degree, the occasions of conspiracies. And that they might not alienate from their government the minds of the nobles, they resolved that all the podestaries, and ordinary captainships, such as the captainship of Maremma, Montagna, Valdichiana, and others, should be given to the nobles, and to no others; and when occurrences should oblige them to send abroad  
extraordinary

1388.

Simigli-  
anti.

extraordinary captains, they might send part of them from the nobles, and part from the populars; and this order in favour of the nobles was made perpetual. These and other regulations were not sufficient to satisfy, nor the hostile designs of Florence, nor the victory obtained by Niccolò Piccolomini over the Brettoni, to divert the people of Siena from their discontents: so that on the 11th of May, 1388, another amendment of their constitution was attempted. The apprehensions of foreign war as well as domestic broils increased, and to facilitate the public deliberations, that they might not upon every occasion have to call a general council, they introduced a council of substitutes, with the same forms and the same authority, and called them the *Simiglianti*, which the council formerly had in the times of the twelve and the nine. This council comprehended all those who had been of the lords priors governors, and those who had their names in the boxes of the same magistrates, to whom they afterwards added, that they might not appear to be diffident of them, twelve noblemen, elected from the nobility in general; and to gratify and oblige those of their citizens who were abroad, and prevent them from joining their enemies within and without, they gave a pardon to those rebels, who had been confined for six months, and had observed their limits, and although their time was not expired, gave them leave to return to the city: those who were confined for a year, might return in two months; and those who were confined for more than a year, in six months.

At this time, returned from Milan Batista Piccolomini, who had been sent as ambassador there, and with him was sent M. Giovanni della Porta, treasurer of the lord Giovan Galeazzo, with orders



to raise and take into pay as large a number of soldiers as possible; and to this end the treasurer sent his paymasters, with the count Ugolotti Bianchiardi, who having been sent with the ambassador by Giovan Galeazzo, for the service of the city of Siena, went to Marca, and engaged in the pay of Visconti, M. Brogliole and Brandolino, each with an hundred cavalry, and ordered that Boldrino da Panicale should form another company.

The Florentines carried on their intrigues with so many factions in the state, and discovered a disposition so hostile, and designs, or at least desires, of making themselves masters not only of Montepulciano and the other dependencies, but of Siena itself, that the government thought it advisable to hasten their deliberations upon a subject they had in contemplation for several months, a league and confederation with Giovan Galeazzo Visconti, lord of Milan, and Conte di Virtu. This prince, since he possessed Verona and Padua, had intended to take possession of Bologna, which had been sometimes under the dominion of the house of Visconti; and because the Florentines, as confederates of the Bolognese, had sent them assistance, and favoured them as much as they could with their armed men, took upon him the protection of the city of Siena, and promised her ambassador to assist her, and sent the signor Paolo Savello, with three hundred lances, upon whose arrival uncommon rejoicings were shewn in the city. Galeazzo engaged in this warfare, not so much for the service of Siena, as to have an opportunity of maintaining the war in conjunction with them, upon that side, against the Florentines, that they, having employment enough to defend their own houses, might not be able to  
send



send succour to Bologna; and by this means to endeavour to make himself master of several places in Tuscany, from whence he might hope, by maintaining the divisions and most ardent hatred, which on account of Montepulciano, from the injuries the Florentines and Sienese committed against each other, went on every day increasing, to make himself master of the province, and at length king of Italy, an ambition he had long entertained. To this end he entered into negotiation with the ambassadors of Siena, and on the 1389. 22d of September, 1389, the treaty was signed. The articles were, that the league should continue ten years; that common cause should be made in a war against Florence; that Galeazzo should maintain during the war, which was to be declared in fifteen days, seven hundred lancemen, with three horses to each lance, in his pay in Tuscany, for the service of the commons of Siena, and the Sienese were to have three hundred in their pay in the same manner, with two hundred cross-bowmen; that if their enemies should send forces from Tuscany into Lombardy, it should be lawful for the count to avail himself of these his forces, but that Siena should not be obliged to send her forces out of Tuscany; that the count should not be obliged to make war or defend the Sienese against any other enemies than the Florentines; that any other community of Tuscany might be admitted into this league; that all the cities, lands, fortresses, and places, which by the league might be acquired in this war, should belong to the republic of Siena, if he had any previous pretensions to the dominion of it, otherwise every one should be left to its liberty, upon condition of holding the league and their allies for friends, and their opposers for enemies, and  
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of giving hospitality passage and provisions, paying for them to the people of the league. Galeazzo might make peace, truce, or armistice, with the people of Florence, including the commons and people of Siena, with all their lands, cities, and subjects; but the Sienese could not make either without his consent; and the ratification was to be on both sides exchanged in three months. A war ensued, which lasted till 1389, and was then concluded by a peace, and a confederation between many republics and princes; the Conte di Virtu, Florence, Bologna, Perugia, the marquis of Ferrara, Siena, the lord of Mantua, the lords de Malatesti, Lucca, the count de Montefeltro, Pisa, &c. This confederation, however, was not well observed, and the inhabitants of Montepulciano particularly violated it, as was supposed at the instigation of Florence. This occasioned not only a ratification of the former treaty, but the formation of a new one between the republic of Siena and the signor Giovan Galeazzo Visconti, Conte di Virtu, lord and imperial vicar of Milan. The country or earldom of Virtu is a state in France, in the province of Champaign, which was given by king John in dower to Isabella his daughter, married to this prince Giovan Galeazzo Visconti, which acquired him the title of Conte di Virtu; and of which marriage was born Madame Valentina, wife of Louis duke of Orleans, brother of Charles the Sixth king of France, who had in dower the same Conte di Virtu, and the city of Asti in Piedmont: of Charles their first born, duke of Orleans, was the king Louis the Twelfth: of Giovanni their second son, count of Angoleme, was born Charles of Angoleme, father of the king Francis the First. These successors of Valentina pretended, after the death without issue  
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1389.

- of Giovan Maria and Filippo Maria their brothers, sons of Giovan Galeazzo, that the state of Milan belonged to them; and for this reason the king Louis the Twelfth, and the king Francis the First, made afterwards that celebrated war in Lombardy, and several times over recovered and lost the duchy of Milan.—
1389. To return from this digression, on the 9th of November, 1389, the treaty was ratified and exchanged between Siena and the count; yet a fresh conspiracy was discovered in the city, excited by Spinello Tolomei in banishment, and the reformers, in conjunction with foreigners, and Montepulciano again rebelled: but the arms of Siena, aided by the count and his captain Charles Malatesta, were triumphant at home and abroad, and this year was practised the first bombardment ever seen in Tuscany. Upon some little reverse of fortune, when the count lost the fortress of Padua, and when, to the calamities of war, those of pestilence and famine were added, in 1390
1390. the noble families of Salimbeni, Tolomei, and Malavolti, unable to bear one another, and some of them still less willing to submit to a superior, resumed their old employment of exciting seditions. Florence wanted peace, and the pope exhorted it. The families of Tolomei and Malavolti, jealous still of the Salimbeni, and their superior influence and favour with the count, began to stir up discontents. In their opinion it was neither profitable nor glorious, nor even honourable, for the republic to waste itself on all sides for the service of the count Galeazzo, who in the greatest exigency of the war had, by withdrawing his forces, left it a prey to the enemy. From this specimen of his conduct the Siense could only expect, if he had been or should be  
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victorious, a servitude which they would find very bitter and irksome. That every one, who was not blinded by an immeasurable hatred, which the vulgar had conceived against the Florentines for the injuries they had done the republic, must already see the disposition of the count; and especially since the arrival from Milan of the marquis Andrea to Cavalcabo, of his privy council, to take upon him the office of senator of Siena, to which he had been elected. The marquis had demanded, with great ceremony, in the name of his master, and on his behalf, that, for the common utility, the dominion of the city of Siena should be given to him. This embassy caused a wonderful change in the minds of all those, who desired, that their country should remain independent and free, and the more, as they knew that the generality of the citizens, without listening to any arguments against it, and without any consideration of futurity, or of the nature of princes, never content with a middle flight, and never long to be depended on, were not only inclined to it, but had prepared a petition to the general council, that an answer should be given to the count's ambassador in these words: "We are content; and as a singular favour we supplicate his lordship, that, from his benignity, he will be pleased to take upon him, and accept the dominion and government of the city of Siena, its country and district, and of us his devoted children and servants, and rule and govern us as to his excellency shall seem convenient;" and descending to particulars, they added and affirmed, "We are ready to give and confer upon him the city of Siena, its country and district, with its simple and mixed empire, and to transfer to him, liberally, the lordship and government of it, so that he may freely dispose of  
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it, in all things, as of the city of Milan, or Padua, or any other the most submissive to him." The contents of this petition, although at first prepared in secret, had reached the ears of those, who endeavoured to promote peace with Florence and the public tranquillity, wonderfully irritated their minds, and incited them to show to their fellow-citizens the incredible damage to the city, which must arise from such an unlimited submission; and to foretel, that in a little time, when they should begin to experience the bitterness of servitude to such as are born and bred to liberty, they would in vain repent of their levity, rashness, and error. They recalled to the recollection of the citizens the great virtues of their fathers and other ancestors, which had defended their country, preserved their liberties, and transmitted both to them; and with how much generosity, bravery, and magnanimity, they themselves had defended it in arms against Charles the Fourth, when present in Siena in 1368 with a powerful army. That they were under the most tender obligation to transmit the sacred trust to their posterity; and this they might easily do, to the inestimable benefit of the city, by a peace, which they had the power and opportunity to make. That when they should be delivered from the calamities of foreign war, and the yoke of tyranny which hung over their necks, they should be at leisure to make provisions of grain against the famine, and to find alleviations of their distresses from the plague. To these reasonings of the Tolomei and Malavolti were opposed those of the Salimbeni, who having been long favourites of the Ghibelline party, were mortal enemies of the others who were Guelphs. Moved by the interests of faction more than those of the public service, having procured the petition



to be heard, and the decree passed and proclaimed by the council, to oppress the opposite party by arms, when they had not been able to answer their reasons, they drew over to their side M. Giovan Tedesco, head of the Ghibellines in Arezzo, with his cavalry, and marched through the city, accompanied with a great multitude of people of their faction, and proclaimed the name of Giovan Galeazzo Visconti, conte di Vertù and lord of Milan, protector, and chief of the Ghibelline faction in Lombardy, and assassinated in this sedition twenty men of the followers of the adverse party, and made many prisoners; among whom was Niccolo Malavolti, who, though he had often honourably acted for the service of the republic, was, with many others, beheaded. The other members of the families of Tolomei and Malavolti, with many of their followers, left the city, and retired to their castles. The people of Siena, wearied out of patience by being the dupes and tools of two or three ambitious families, were easily led by one of them to rejoice in placing a master over all. They were now so inclined and disposed to servitude to one, in preference to a few, that, blinded with anger, they would not see the evident ruin which must come with the destruction of public liberty; and neither themselves nor their leaders knowing the true cause of their divisions and misfortunes, nor any remedy by which union and liberty might be reconciled by law, they humbly solicited the subjugation of their country, and the privilege—of passive obedience.

On the fifteenth day of March, in the same year, 1390. the record was approved in the general council, and authority was given to the lords priors to appoint a syndic, and a deputy of the commons of



Siena, to execute all that was contained in the resolution, and deliver the keys of the city to the commissaries of the count Galeazzo, with its absolute dominion, without pact or convention of any kind. The example is here complete: and although the tyranny of the Visconti was afterwards overturned, various forms of a republic attempted, exiles sent out and recalled as usual, yet as the executive power was always left in an assembly, and inveterate factions were not legally separated from each other, nor impowered to controul each other, the same divisions, seditions, and civil wars, were perpetual, till the same weariness induced the people again to confer the sovereignty on the grand duke of Etruria, where it remains to this time. It is not easy to conceive what further experiments can be made of a sovereignty in one assembly, or how the consequences to be drawn from them can be more decisive. Whether the assembly consists of a larger or a smaller number, of nobles or commons, of great people or little, of rich or poor, of substantial men or the rabble, the effects are all the same: *No order, no safety, no liberty, because no government of law.*

It is often said, that the republics of Greece, Rome, and Tuscany, produced in the minds of their citizens great virtues; an ardent love for their country, undaunted bravery, the love of poverty, the love of science, &c. But if a little attention is bestowed upon the subject, these will be found to be very feeble arguments in their favour. —It was not the love of their country, but of their faction. There was in every city three factions at least; every citizen loved one third of his fellow-citizens, and hated the other two thirds. It is true that, in such a state of things, affection for friends

friends strengthens in proportion to the fear and hatred of enemies, and the desire of revenge becomes as strong a passion, and demands gratification as imperiously, and perhaps more so than friendship. How was it possible, when men were always in war and danger, that they should not be brave? Courage is a quality to be acquired by all men, by habit and practice. When scenes of death and carnage are every day before his eyes, how is it possible that a man should not acquire a contempt of death, from his familiarity with it, especially if life is made a burden, by continual exertion and mortification?—The love of poverty is a fictitious virtue, that never existed.—A preference of merit to wealth has sometimes existed under all governments; but most of all under aristocracies. This is wisdom and virtue in all. But can much of this be found in the histories of any country, that was not poor, and obliged to be so? Can you see much of it in Florence and Siena? The love of science and literature always grows, where there is much public deliberation and debate, and in such governments, where every faculty as well as passion is always on the stretch, great energy of mind appears. But there is a form of government which produces a love of law, liberty, and country, instead of disorder, irregularity, and a faction; which produces as much and more independence of spirit, and as undaunted bravery; as much esteem of merit in preference to wealth, and as great simplicity, sincerity, and generosity to all the community, as others do to a faction; which produces as great a desire of knowledge, and infinitely better faculties to pursue it; which besides produces security of property, and the desire and opportunities for commerce, which the others obstruct. Shall any one hesitate then to prefer such a government?

as this to all others? A constitution in which the people reserve to themselves the absolute controul of their purses, one essential branch of the legislature, and the inquest of grievances and state crimes, will always produce patriotism, bravery, simplicity, and science; and that infinitely better for the order, security, and tranquillity they will enjoy, by putting the executive power into one hand, which it becomes their interest, as well as that of the nobles, to watch and controul.

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## L E T T E R IV.

### B O L O G N A.

Dear Sir,

**T**HE Tuscans were an ancient and original people of Italy, whose power was so considerable, that they extended their dominion from one sea to the other. These people, some ages before the foundation of Rome, built twelve cities, among which Bologna was made the capital of the kingdom\*. When some years were elapsed, after Constantine, from his reverence for the holy see, had transported the throne of the empire to Byzantium, and the majesty of the emperors was become, from its distance, little respected by the Italians, many cities, and Bologna among the rest, in 382, instituted a republic. Claterna, a neighbouring city, at the distance of twelve miles, which had been built also by the Tuscans, likewise erected an independent republic; but an emu-

\* Bombaci, p. 2.

lation arising first, and a war afterwards, in which the Claternates were subdued, and being discontented with their obedience to the citizens of Bologna, as they had been formerly with that to their king, they were received, according to the custom of the Romans, into the country of the conquerors. This city was afterwards ruined by the barbarians, so entirely, that no vestige of it remains but in history.

In 961 Otto \*, emperor of the Germans, came into Italy, delivered it from the yoke of the Berengarii, obtained of the pope the crown imperial, and with general applause the title of Otto the Great. This prince perceiving that the cities of Italy, from their natural generosity of sentiment, and their distance from the emperor, could not be held in subjection, conceded to many of them their liberty, reserving a light tribute.

† Bologna obtained, with a sort of pre-eminence, and with a smaller tribute, her usual liberty, with the privilege of electing her magistrates with a mixed authority, and, conformably to the institution of Otto, with three councils, gave a form to her republic, with the title of a community. The one was the Council of the Credenza, which was that of the consuls and the other magis-

\* Muratori, Annals, tom. v. p. 397, anno 961-2.

† Conseguì Bologna con maggiori preeminenza, e minori gravezze la esperimentata libertà con facoltà d'eleggere i magistrati conmero e misto impero, e conforme all' istituto di Ottone, contre sorte di consigli diede forma alla sua repubblica, contitolo di comune. L'uno fù il consiglio di credenza che era quello de' consoli, e de gli altri magistrati: l'altro fù il particolare che comprendava i nobili: il terzo fù il generale, et era quello del popolo, quale però senza podestà de suffragi, si raddunava ad esser presente à giuramenti de' magistrati, et ad altre somiglianti apparenze — Historie memorabili della Città di Bologna ristrette da Gasparo Bombaci, p. 9.

trates; the other was called the Special Council, and comprehended the nobility; the third was called the General Council, and was that of the people, which, without the power of suffrage, was assembled, in order to be present at the administration of the oaths to the magistrates, and other similar public appearances. In this constitution there is a shadow, and no more, of three branches. The people, who ought to constitute an essential part, were excluded from all influence, and only called out occasionally to look at their rulers, and gratify their senses with shouts of acclamation. The credenza and the nobility formed an aristocracy, in which the magistrates were appointed, and the administration conducted. It seems to have been an imitation of the Roman consuls and senate, without even the poor expedient of a tribune to controul them.

1153. In 1153 the cities of Italy began to elect pretors, whom they named *podesta* or bailiffs; and, excited by their example, the citizens of Bologna elected Guido Sasso to that magistracy, and invested him publicly with the sceptre and the sword of justice. This was a reduction of the divisions of the republic to that union which is the effect of the government of a single person, against the corruption of which they endeavoured to provide by the college of consuls, and by the brevity of annual magistrates.

Felsinus, king of Tuscany, was the founder of the royal city of Bologna, the mother of arts, sciences, and studies, and the nurse of laws, and, after his own name, called it Felsina. This city, which the Italian authors delight to describe, is situated at the foot of the Apennines, in the middle of the Emilian Way, in the 44th degree of latitude,

latitude, between mountains and plains equally beautiful and fertile: in the north a fruitful plain, in the east the river Savena, in the west the Rhine; not far from the sea, and in the neighbourhood of lakes and rivers abounding with fish. The air is temperate, and the country plentiful of every thing necessary and useful to human life\*. This glorious city was by the kings of Tuscany made the metropolis of their dominion, and the seat of their residence. Their empire indeed extended only over the twelve cities, of which this was the first; the others were Veii, Chiusi, Cortona, Populonia, Tarquini, Vetulonia, Volterra, Volsena, Roselle, Perugia, Arezzo, and Fiesole.

In the year 1123 the form of the republic of Bologna, the state of the city, and the customs of the citizens, were as follow. Those who shall read their history, will easily perceive that this republic did not, in those ancient and rude times, administer the city scientifically, nor conduct skilfully the affairs of war. They elected three councils, a special council, a general council, and a council of credenza, in the authority of which, with their magistrates and judges, consisted the supreme government. The special council was elected annually in this manner: In the beginning of December the special council and general council were convoked, either by the consuls or by the pretor, according as one or the other of those officers happened to be in the government of the republic, in presence of whom, every one of the council, observing the order of his tribe, made his election and extraction of his lot. For this purpose, there stood before a tribunal two urns, out

1123.

\* Ghirardacci, *Historia di Bologna*, p. 2.



of one of which were taken as many blank votes, as there were men of that tribe present in council, and on them their names were written; in the other were as many other blank briefs, ten excepted, written by the hands of two brothers hermits of St. Augustin, deputed by the council for that purpose. When the extraction was to be made of the first tribe, a boy of the age of twelve years, or less, drew a brief from the principal urn, and he whose name came out presented himself at the tribunal; and the boy at the second urn drew another brief, which if by chance it was blank, such a one was excluded from the election of the council; but if the ticket was written, such a one was an elector: and this method was followed, until the ten black tickets declared the ten electors of that tribe. This being done, the same was repeated by the men of the other tribes, one by one, until forty men, that is to say, ten for each tribe, were electors. Then the forty electors retired to a secret place, and elected six hundred men, that is to say, 150 for each tribe, excluding however the mean and poor artificers, occupied in low and base works, and none of the minors of eighteen years were obliged to accept of this office; and these six hundred men presented themselves to the special council. In the same manner and order, in substance, in three days, was elected the council of credenza; but all the doctors of laws, without other qualification or appointment, might enter this council, and that of the six hundred. After three days more, exactly in the same mode, were elected the general council; but he who had been an elector in one council could not be an elector in another. These councils congregated sometimes all together, and at other times one by itself, according to the nature  
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of the business, and assembled at the sound of the bells or the trumpets. There were provided by these councils three bells, the lesser, the middle, and the greater: for the special council the smaller bell was rung, for the council of credenza the middle, and for the council general the greater. It was forbidden to the consuls, or the pretor, to convocate the councils, if he had not previously ordered to be written in the chancery, in a book provided for that purpose, the business which was to be proposed and treated. When the council was collected, the chancellor proposed in public the subject, that was to be considered; and this being proposed, the orators, who were four, and stood near the tribunal of the magistrates, reasoned in public: a like privilege was granted to the orators of the magistrates, who were also four; but this merely relating to the affairs of the magistracy, whose opinions, in answer to the question separately put to them, were written down, and called the resolution or division. It was sometimes tolerated, when it appeared to be necessary, that private or individual magistrates should harangue in council, who ascending a pulpit, with a loud voice delivered their opinions; and upon the questions proposed by them a division was made, or a resolution taken. These divisions were made in various ways: sometimes the opinions of every one were taken in secret, and written down by a notary, one by one; at other times every one gave his vote openly and audibly, and frequently the decision was made by white and black beans: now those of one opinion went to one side of the room, and those of a different judgment to the other; then one party stood up, and another sat down; and in these cases the voices were numbered by the ministers publicly. The will and  
resolution

resolution of the council being determined, the decree was published, and recorded in a book, and another council could not be convoked till this decree was made. A number of notaries were employed; some to write the speeches and opinions, others to publish the decrees, and others to receive the laws. Such were the usages of the councils of this republic, which was honoured with the name of commons, or community. Of the magistrates, some were ordinary, others extraordinary: the ordinary were created and deputed every year in the republic, and were called the magistrates of the court; the extraordinary were those who were deputed for some extraordinary business. The principal ordinary magistrates were the consuls of the community, or the pretor instead of them. The consuls of justice, the judges of the community, the attorney general, the judges of appeals, the judges of new crimes, the judges of the office of exiles or out-laws, the judges of new causes, a judge who was the executioner of sentences, the questor, and all others, had their soldiers and notaries. The extraordinary were the legates, curators, and syndics. The same mode was observed in the choice of consuls as of counsellors. The election of pretor was in this manner: In the month of September the councils general and special were called together at the pleasure of the magistrate; but before they convened, the day and hour that this and that tribe was to appear was published, and in the manner already described in the election of counsellors, the forty men were drawn from one and the other council assembled, excluding however the magistrates: these forty suddenly retired to a secret chamber, where they were locked up by the consuls of the state, and those

of the merchants and bankers, that no one might, by word or letter, be corrupted; and if, through the whole night and the next day, by consent at least of twenty-seven of them, they had not created a pretor, they lost the authority of the election, and the next day the pretor convoked the general council, and the council of credenza, and from one and the other were deputed, as before, forty men; and if these, to the number of twenty-seven, could not agree, the election and deputation of the pretor was reduced to a suffrage or joint ballot of the general council and council of credenza. The pretor might be elected from any city, at the pleasure of the council, provided he was not a relation of any of the electors in the third degree, or nearer, possessed a real estate in Bologna or its territory, was not less than six and thirty years of age; and it was an injunction always to elect a man of reputation, virtuous, noble, and wise. Of right, according to the statute, a pretor might be elected from the place of the antecedent pretor (and this was sometimes practised) but he might not be his relation. The election ended and published to the councils, public letters were written to the pretor elect, requesting his acceptance of the honour that was offered him; and upon the day when he made his entry into the city, he was met and honoured by all the people. The pretor had the same prerogatives and authorities which the consuls had, and therefore, according to the times, the republic was governed sometimes by consuls, and sometimes by pretors, and sometimes there were at once both consuls and a pretor, as appears by instruments signed both by the consuls and a pretor in the years 1177 and 1179. It appears, that the consuls citizens sometimes came to an election of a foreigner for a pretor,

pretor, to compose the discords which arose between the citizens and such as abused their liberty, to the end that they might call delinquents to account, and punish with more severity, and not fluctuate so easily from love or hatred, fear or favour. But because for the most part the pretors were not skilled in the laws, they conducted with them at first two, and afterwards four judges of the law, and the pretors were decorated with high hats, long swords, and a sceptre, to denote their power; and from this they were afterwards vulgarly called *podesta*. Besides the consuls or the pretor, in whom resided almost the sum-total of the republic in peace and war, certain other magistrates, as has been mentioned, governed, and the mode of electing them was the same. Two tribes were called out to the lot one day, and the two others the next; and the deputed, or rather casual electors, were prohibited to choose a father, son, brother, or any other relation, and moreover such as were inept, unskilful, or incapable of such government: and according as any one was elected, he was proclaimed with a loud voice in council. And to obviate all frauds which might be attempted, the ten briefs or written tickets being drawn, all the rest were examined in presence of the council, to see that there were no more than the law allowed. It was provided by law, that no one could elect or publish a magistrate who did not pay twenty pence into the purses of the treasury, which were recoverable by the pretor; and it was forbidden to any one to accept of the office if he had not been out of it one year. None could be elected, but by that tribe, in which he had his domicile; and every one, who entered on a magistracy, took an oath to exercise his office with integrity and fidelity. Besides the magistrates already mentioned,



tioned, there were those of the militia; the mode of electing whom was the same, but the government different. The *command in chief* of the militia was given to the consuls or to the pretor. The officers of the army were different among the cavalry, in the infantry, of the people, and lastly of the triumphal chariots. The officers or prefects of the foot, of the horse, or of the people, because they carried a standard (gonfalone) were called gonfaloniers, and each one in his tribe, in council, by his own fellow tribunes, was elected, in the manner before described. Moreover, some citizens served in the militia on foot, and some others on horseback; and these performed the service more voluntarily than when deputed by commission of the magistrates to that purpose: wherefore, when any enterprize was undertaken by the military order, every one, whether of the foot or the horse, according to the necessity, went out under his own standard or ensign; and if the service required a greater appearance, each gonfalonier of the people led out his own tribe, and then it was said, that the people were gone out; and it rarely happened, that all the tribes went out at once, but at one time the infantry of one tribe and the cavalry of another, at another time one whole tribe, and upon another occasion another. In the militia were enrolled all the men from eighteen years of age to seventy, at which age men were released from all public offices, so as to be even rejected from the council; and if by accident any old men, who exceeded that age, rashly entered the council, they were forbidden the election. In every parish, by deputed muster-masters, were described or registered in order those who kept horses for war. These orders, which were enregistered sometimes by tens, and sometimes



times by twenty-five, according to the number of the soldiers, and described by the muster-masters, at certain periods conducted their horses to officers deputed for the service, to be reviewed and approved, and notaries took down their names, with their furniture, and the qualities of the horses. Military expeditions were of two sorts; one with squadrons or legions of light horse, the other with regular armies; and very great was the difference between being commanded out upon an excursion of troopers, and an expedition with the army; and so frequent were the excursions of the cavalry, that it was ordained, that in every tribe there should be public marshals or horseshoers, and every master of a bourg should have always ready, and in order, all the instruments for shoeing horses, to the end that the cavalry passing that way, and having occasion, might be always served. The treasurer paid a certain stipend to every magistrate, and kept an account of the public revenues and all expences. The revenues consisted in tributes, gifts, tolls, and customs. The gifts were upon the doors, bankers, lands, mills, oxen, &c.; and if the revenue was not sufficient for the expences of the war, by order of council was imposed a tax upon polls and estates, according to every man's possessions and incomes. Thus much concerning the ordinary magistrates.—The extraordinary were always elected by the pretor, as the ambassadors, directors of public works, and the syndics. No magistrate could go upon any embassy; and whoever was sent abroad out of the territory upon any embassy, they assigned him three horses, two notaries, and one cook; and if the embassy was to the pope or the emperor, the expence and the company and attendants were ordered at the discretion of the council. A commis-

sion

sion was given the ambassador in writing, and the whole legation was governed by their instructions. It was ordained in general terms, that no one should petition or *seek* to be created of the number of magistrates, and if any one was known to *seek* it, his conduct was publicly related in council, and it was reproached to him as the greatest infamy. The officers of state, with the title of podesta, with his judges and notaries, were elected part from the mountains, and partly from the plains or low lands. The castles which were subject to the Bolognese elected also their own consuls, and, when they were commanded, went to war with them, and carried various standards. All the burthens and tributes were much heavier upon them than upon the citizens, excepting those who, for some partiicular merit, had been exempted by the council. There were many colleges or companies in the city, as that of the merchants, the goldsmiths, and the artificers. The merchants and goldsmiths created their own consuls, and the companies of artificers appointed their own seigniors or treasurers; and those, who were able to do it, collected together in associations for the promotion of commerce and improvement in the arts. The people and the city afterwards increasing, there were elected certain colleges of arms, one called that of the Lombards, another della Branca, and another del Griffone; and these had the care of the arms of the republic, and were decorated by the city with many privileges: and the foreigners, who were of these companies, were made citizens of Bologna, if they had been householders ten years in the city, and might be of the council of the commons, stewards of companies, and magistrates, equally with other citizens. The greatest part of the labourers in the country were slaves

slaves of the nobles, from which servitude however they were afterwards liberated, the community paying a certain sum of money to their masters. All these particulars of their constitution were found in the ancient customs, or the privileges granted or confirmed by the emperors, or in the decrees of the councils, or in the laws of the city : the former were called reformatiōs, the latter statutes. The decrees were those ordinances which, at the prayer of the pretor, were accepted by the councils, or made by him, and approved by them. The laws were no other than the ordinances made by the legislators, which were called *statutieri*, or lawgivers. No ordinary magistrate was of these legislators, but they were deputed, according to the wants of the city, from time to time, and, after the example of the Athenians, reviewed the old laws, and altered, amended, accommodated, and reformed them, according to their judgments. The laws which these legislators made were reported to the council, by them recited publicly to the people, and written in the volumes of Civil Reason, which were called the Statute Books. This constitution was preserved till after the year 1250.—The houses were of wood, without much ornament or skill in architecture ; and from this cause they were frequently exposed to terrible fires. Among all the buildings, the most noble objects were the steeples and towers, built upon the churches and all the houses of the principal citizens. The frequent fires, and the common calamities of Italy, the deluges of water, and the frequent exiles of the citizens, are supposed to have destroyed many objects, and buried in oblivion many facts worthy of eternal remembrance.—There are greater traces of an artificial and scientific legislation in this constitution, than in either  
that

that of Florence or Siena; nevertheless all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, was in one council, for when the special and general council met together they acted as one, and when one met alone it acted as sovereign: the podesta, and his judges and notaries, were only deputies of the council. Although so much pains was taken, by mixing lot with choice, by rotations, and other prudent precautions, to prevent ambition, faction, and sedition from entering, all was ineffectual.—Omitting most of the wars, foreign and domestic, we may select a few instances from whence the operation of this form of government may be evinced.

Henry the Fifth, as he was called, but of Germany the Sixth, after his succession to his father Frederick, passing through Bologna with Constantia his wife, in his way to Rome, to receive the imperial crown, was magnificently received by the people, and entertained by Gerardo, bishop of Bologna, in the bishop's palace; and, in acknowledgment of his kind reception, gave to Gerard the title of Prince, which was afterwards retained by the bishops of Bologna. Henry was not only crowned as emperor, but with much ceremony invested in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, as the inheritance of his wife Constantia. 1191.

In the next year, Gerardo, bishop of Bologna, by his favour with the emperor and the pope, and the privileges he had obtained for the city, was grown into such reputation for justice and virtue with all men, that he was constituted pretor with great popularity, and in the beginning of his dignity he contracted a friendship with Albert the count of Prato, and made a treaty for mutual defence. Gerardo having the first year administered in such a manner as to be thought a 1192.

bright example of a good and moderate government, a little afterwards seemed to be changed in his whole nature, began to desire innovations, openly to favour the plebeians, oppressing the nobles and first men of the city, which gave occasion to grave disorders and seditions: for the patricians, who had conferred upon him the office, and were accustomed and habituated to the command of others, could not easily tolerate the injuries and humiliations imposed upon them, and the evident partiality of the pretor; so that having congregated in the palace, they created twelve consuls, of men of great authority in Bologna. Girardo hearing of the election of consuls, was in high wrath, and began to threaten them with an angry countenance; but they suddenly published to the people that he was deposed from the office of pretor. Giacomo Orsi, a powerful citizen, and a favourer of Girardo, collected a company of armed men, and attempted to oppose the resolution of the consuls and patricians; whereupon Specialino Griffoni, not less celebrated in letters than in arms, and one who was studious and intent upon maintaining the republic, turned round to the nobles, and harangued them as follows: “ Is it consistent with our duty or our  
“ honour, fellow-citizens, to suffer that autho-  
“ rity, which for three hundred years and more  
“ we have enjoyed, of directing this our republic,  
“ to be wrested from us by a private person, by  
“ us alone, for the universal safety of the city,  
“ placed in the government of it? Shall we sub-  
“ mit to become like the vilest populace, esteem-  
“ ed of no importance or authority, and subjected  
“ to that Gerardo, to whom we are, and for  
“ ever shall be, objects of jealousy and terror, as  
“ long as our republic shall have any energy, or  
“ be



“ be in safety? Let your generous souls enkindle  
 “ in a moment : never think of bearing this in-  
 “ supportable tyranny ; and let the object itself,  
 “ and the opportunity of the moment, rouse you  
 “ to this enterprise, infinitely more than my  
 “ words ; and accept of me, according to your  
 “ pleasure, either as a soldier, or a captain in the  
 “ service, to which I am willing to devote my  
 “ soul and body.” Amidst all this aristocratical  
 thunder, the still voice of reason and experience  
 whispers to a candid reader the probability that  
 the nobles were more tyrannical than Gerardo ;  
 that the people were impatient under it ; Gerardo  
 disposed to alleviate their burthens ; and the no-  
 bles thence alarmed with the apprehension of a  
 master over themselves, rather than over the peo-  
 ple. The speech being ended, he seized his arms,  
 and, accompanied by the consuls and the greater  
 part of the nobles, marched to the bishop’s palace.  
 Giacomo Orsi, with those devoted to him, oppos-  
 ing them in arms, they came to action ; but Giaco-  
 mo not being able to resist the impetuosity of the  
 assailants, with great difficulty saved himself, with  
 Gerardo, by flying from the city. The consuls,  
 disappointed by their flight, were the more ex-  
 asperated against Orsi, and seeing they had them  
 not in their power, they declared them rebels  
 against the republic, confiscated all their property,  
 and ordered their houses and towers to the ground.  
 Such decision delivered the city for the present  
 from this violent sedition, and with as much vir-  
 tue as that which delivered the Roman patricians  
 from Melius or Manlius.

But the next year, under new consuls, although 1194.  
 it appeared that the sedition of Gerardo was  
 quieted, and that no disposition remained for in-  
 novation, yet all on a sudden, on the first of July,



Gieremei.

some of his abettors proceeded from words to blows with some of the adverse party, in which affray Pietro Scannebecchi lost his right hand, and Scannabecchi Rampeni lay mortally wounded, among many others both killed and wounded. The day after both parties having prepared their arms, came to battle again in the palace of the community, when Giuseppe Ocellette and Tomaso Taschi da i Gieremei, fautors of Gerardo, were slain; whereupon the consuls were again obliged to recur to arms against Gerardo, who having taken possession of a castle called Sorresano, had there fortified himself. They sent out Guglielmo Malavolti, a consul, with a chosen band of soldiers, who conducted with so much skill and bravery, that he chased Gerardo from his fortress, and burnt his castle. In a short time the emperor Henry, by a decree, liberated the bishop, Gerardo, whom he still called his prince in all his causes, from his oath of calumny, and permits him to exercise his functions in all his causes, and those of the bishopric, by an administrator, or other legitimate person.

1195.

The next year, 1195, it seems they tried the experiment of a pretor again (that is to say, as we may conjecture the family of Gieremei, and their party, prevailed in the public councils to carry this point), and Guido Cino was elected. But in his administration, following the steps of Gerardo, after having done insupportable things against many persons, he was dishonourably deposed from his office, and accused of an infinite number of iniquities; and attempting to fly, was by those whom he had offended made prisoner, and for his punishment all his teeth were drawn out of his head, and then he was set at liberty, and in his place was appointed Guido da Vilmercato, of Milan.

In

In 1202 civil discords arose in the city, by which Bologna was not a little troubled and afflicted. The first disorder that occurred, arose from an ancient enmity between the Asinelli and the Scannabecchi. These two factions meeting in the high street, with a sudden and impetuous onset engaged in arms, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. This quarrel was composed, by the interposition of the pretor and the other nobles; but another soon arose from a more private offence, because Giovanni Tettalafini had killed Guido Peppoli: this enmity between these two families continued for forty years before it was pacified.

1202.

Asinelli,  
and Scannabecchi.

In 1212, upon some public occasion, among a great concourse of nobility on horseback, Gieremia Malavolti falling from his horse, was killed, to the grief of the people and the emperor, and probably to the equal joy of the nobility.

1212.

In the year 1218 there were in the city of Bologna ten thousand scholars at the academy for the study of the law, in such reputation was that university.

1218.

The quarrel between Frederic the emperor, and Gregory the pope, revived in Bologna the party distinctions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, drawn from Germany in the time of Henry the Fourth. Not only some cities favoured the emperor, and others the pontiff, but in the city of Bologna the citizens arrived at that degree of extreme madness, that, in hatred of each other, they strove to deprive each other of their lives and fortunes together. Sons became enemies to their fathers, and brothers to brothers, and, as if it was not enough to shed their own blood, like mad dogs, they proceeded to demolish houses, and to burning the

1227.

cities, the trees, and the corn. This diabolical pestilence produced such an aversion to each other, that they studied to distinguish themselves in all things: in their cloaths, in the colours they wore, in their actions, their speech, their walk, their food, their salutations, their drink, their manner of cutting bread, in folding their napkins, in the cut of their hair, and innumerable other extravagances equally whimsical. A plague truly horrible, a flame wholly inextinguishable, which proved the extinction of so many noble families, and the ruin of so many miserable cities.

1228.

The next year, under the pretorship of Uberto Visconti, out of a violent sedition arose a cruel war. Gottifredo, count of Romagna, favourite of Frederick, took Manzolino, a castle of Romagna, and from it drove out the prefect of Bologna, who returned home, and excited the people to a violent revolt, because every one lamented that the castle, by the neglect or misconduct of the pretor, and of those who governed in the city, was lost, as they pretended; and in such manner did this conceived indignation increase in the hearts of all, that seizing their arms, against the resolution of the republic, they collected together in the piazza, made immediately a captain of one Giuseppe Toschi, a man not only bold but rash, and, with terrible huzzas, ran tumultuously to the palace of the pretor, where Giuseppe demanded the standard of the people, and the armed guards of the palace, declaring that he would go out and meet the enemy, that he might not commit further depredations on the territory of Bologna. The pretor refused his demand; but Giuseppe, consulting only his own temerity, broke open the gates of the palace, forced his entry into it, ran-

sacked

sacked every thing, and having burnt all the papers of the pretor, to acquire more favour with the people, turned out all the public tables, rung the bells against the orders of the pretor and the guards, and having thus collected all the people armed in the piazza, he conducted out the triumphal car of the pretor, and ordered all things for a war. He then arranges 4000 infantry under Bornio Gieremei, whose tool he probably was, 800 cavalry under Orso Caccianemici and Prendiparti Prendiparti, four hundred men at arms under Alberto Gallucci and Lodovico Arioosti; and in this curious manner a foundation was laid for a change in the commonwealth, and an institution of the People. They called by this name, *The People*, the new republic placed in the hands of the people, whose superintendants were appointed to be, the prefect of the people, the antiani, the consuls of the merchants, and the masters of colleges. According to Thomas Aquinas, the antiani were instituted in the cities of Italy, that they might take the part of the plebeians, as were the tribunes in Rome: but after this Giuseppe, whom they created prefect of the people, no other prefect is mentioned till 1255. The Florentines and the Genoese having ordained a republic of the people about the same time, introduced also the prefect of the people and the antiani; and these popular republics were sustained, with their proper councils, to whom the prefects were rectors or presidents: and at the head of the antiani also were the pretors and their judges; and six antiani were created from all the four and twenty tribes, and as long as the use and creation of these antiani continued in this sort of republic, their number was often increased, as well as that of the consuls of merchants and

Antiani.

masters of colleges. By this change of government the republic became involved in two wars at once, with Imola and Modena; and the people of Bologna, finding their affairs not succeed to their wishes, rose in a tumult, and killed Rolando Formaglini, superintendant of Piumazzo, because his fortress was taken by the enemy, alledging their suspicions that he had betrayed it for money. The animosities of the Guelphs and Ghibellines mixing with the disputes between the nobles and commons, produced convulsions in every city, especially in those adhering to Frederick, that in Modena, Reggio, Parma, Cremona, Bergamo, and Pavia, those who favoured the church were finally expelled by the power of their adversaries, and driven into exile; and Bologna still continued to be agitated with seditions, as well as with disputes with their bishop and the pope, by whom they were excommunicated.

1234.

Lambertacci.

In 1234 they settled the controversy with the bishop, but a greater tumult than had ever been known arose, on account of Alberto Lambertacci, who being in the piazza, and seeing Gabriel Sanzio his enemy, killed him. This homicide put arms into the hands of a multitude of citizens. The pretor not having the criminal in his power, published a proclamation against him. The relations and friends of the deceased looked out for a severe revenge; and as they saw that the party of the Lambertacci were upon their guard, and went about prepared, with a great retinue of armed men, they consulted together about the manner of coming to action. Meeting one day with Alphonso, the brother of Albert, they came to a rude scuffle together, in which much blood was shed, and much more mischief would have been



been done, if the interposition of the pretor had not interrupted it for the present : but this broil was the beginning of discords and seditions which lasted a long time. The hatred between the most considerable families had grown so inveterate, having continued, with few interruptions, for forty years, viz. from the death of Guido Peppoli, that much bloodshed was apprehended ; but John of Bologna, a famous preacher, coming into the city, preached peace, charity, and benevolence, to his immortal honour, with so much success, that a kind of reconciliation was made between the families of Delfini and Malataschi ; Torelli and Andalo ; Griffeni, Artemisii, and Castel de Britti ; Gallucci and Carbonefi ; Lambertini and Scannabecchi ; Peppoli and Tettalafini ; who had been constant enemies—and several intermarriages were contracted among them.

1243.

In the year 1244 is found the next mention of the antiani of the people, who presided in the instituted republic of the people, and moderated in two councils ; one called the little council, which they, with the consuls of the merchants and goldsmiths, masters of the arts and of arms, with the gonfalonier of the people, and the colleges and their counsellors, composed ; and the other they called the grand council, in which they also were again found, with the other larger number of counsellors ; and all that was by these ordained was perpetually to be observed : so that all laws were made, executed, and judged by the majority of this single council, or by persons deputed by them ; the same original and essential fault that had occasioned their miseries, and continued to increase them.

1244.

In 1248, making secretly great preparations for war, and calling to their assistance La Marca Romagna and Azzo da Este, they created

1248.

eight



eight noblemen to conduct the war against the Modenese; these were Alberto Gallucci, Lambertacci, Prendiparti, Samaritani, Scannebecchi, Ariosti, Guido Gieremei, and Cottellani. For captain general they elected the marquis Azzo da Este; but he being infirm, to shew his gratitude to the senate, he sent them three thousand cavalry, and two thousand foot. Gieremei had command of half the men at arms, and Lambertacci of the infantry. It appears from this, that though the government was called popular and the people, that the people was no more than an aristocracy, and that the nobles were not excluded. The two families of Gieremei and Lambertacci were very near the head of the republic, and, as we shall soon see, most eagerly contending for the foremost station. An obstinate battle was fought, in which great exertions both of skill and bravery were shewn, and a complete victory obtained by the Bolognese, and king Hentio taken prisoner.

1254.

In 1254, in the council general and special of the commons of Bologna, were confirmed the treaties with the marquis da Este and the commons of Ferrara. The next year the republic adorned itself with a new magistrate, Ricardo Villa being made pretor; but because the pretor was the superintendant of the republic of nobles, which was called *The Commons*, it was now their pleasure that there should be a prefect, or captain of the people, who should govern the popular republic called *The People*. This dignity had been laid aside a long time, though it had been the original title of the first magistrate, but was now revived, and Giordino Lucino was elected to it.—Separating the functions, it was ordained, that the pretor should have the authority and jurisdiction of

of the city, and be superintendant of the councils of the commons, and that the captain should administer in war abroad; that within the city the councils of the people should govern, and confer in the public business with the antiani.

In the year 1257 a transaction was completed, which alone ought to be sufficient to immortalise the republic of Bologna. There is among the records of that city a book, intitled "The Paradise of Pleasure," which contains the decree of the 3d of June, 1257, by which all the slaves and villains were manumitted, and taxed annually in a certain quantity of corn, which was consigned to the care of an officer, already instituted and called the pretor of the sack, who was appointed in the same manner with the pretors of the castles. This law, prepared at first by legislators, was, by the councils of the people, congregated by the ringing of bells according to the usage, recited and approved. The record is in substance — "In the beginning God Almighty  
" planted a paradise of pleasure, in which he  
" placed man, whom he had created and cloathed  
" with a white robe of innocence, giving him a  
" perfect and perpetual liberty; but the wretch,  
" unmindful of his own dignity and the divine  
" munificence, tasted of the apple forbidden him  
" by the commandment of Heaven, and thereby  
" dragged himself and all his posterity down into  
" this valley of misery, poisoned the human race,  
" and most miserably bound it in the chains of  
" diabolical servitude: and thus, from incorruptible it was made corruptible, from immortal, mortal, subjected to continual vicissitudes and most grievous slavery. God, however, beholding that the whole world had perished, had compassion on the human race, and sent his  
" only

1257.

“ only begotten son, born of the virgin Mary, who,  
“ co-operating with the grace of the Holy Ghost,  
“ to the glory of his own dignity, breaking the  
“ bonds with which we were held captive, re-  
“ stored us to our primitive liberty: and there-  
“ fore it is very justly questioned, whether men,  
“ whom nature from the beginning produced and  
“ created free, and the law of nations only sub-  
“ jected to the yoke of servitude, ought not to be  
“ restored to the blessing of manumission;—these  
“ men, who are the disgrace of the cause of  
“ liberty! In consideration of which the noble  
“ city of Bologna, which has always contended  
“ and fought for liberty, recollecting the past  
“ and providing for the future, in honour of Jesus  
“ Christ our Lord and Redeemer, has redeemed, by  
“ a price in money, all those who, in the city of  
“ Bologna and its bishopric, were found confined  
“ in a servile condition, and decreed them to be  
“ free, after a diligent examination, ordaining  
“ that no one, constrained in any kind of slavery  
“ in the city or episcopacy, shall dare to remain  
“ or be detained in it. And lest so great a mass  
“ of natural liberty, redeemed by a price, should  
“ corrupt, by any remaining mixture of slavery,  
“ as a moderate fermentation corrupts the whole  
“ mass, and the society of one evil depraves many  
“ that are good—in the time of that noble man  
“ and podesta D. Accursius of Sorixana, whose  
“ reputation spreading far and wide, shines like a  
“ star, and under the examination of D. Jacob  
“ Grataceli, his judge and assessor, whose skill,  
“ wisdom, constancy, and temperance, recom-  
“ mend him to all men, the present memorial is  
“ made, which by its proper name ought justly  
“ to be called a Paradise, containing the names  
“ of all the masters and all the slaves, both male  
“ and

“ and female, that it may appear by what ser-  
 “ vants and maids liberty is acquired, and for a  
 “ price redeemed; to wit, ten pounds for those  
 “ of more than fourteen years of age, whether men  
 “ or women, and eight pounds for all under that  
 “ age, to every master, for every one whom he  
 “ holds in servitude. This memorial was written  
 “ by me, Conrad Sclariti, a notary, deputed to  
 “ the office of servants and maids; and may it  
 “ remain to posterity a monument of this trans-  
 “ action\*.” Amidst the melancholy gloom of  
 factions and licentiousness, of injustice and cruel-  
 ty, of fraud and violence, such a gleam of hu-  
 manity, equity, and magnanimity, is refreshing.  
 It shall be left to your own reflections, the first of  
 which will undoubtedly be a wish to see a para-  
 dise of pleasure in each of the United States of  
 America.

The temporary reconciliation of the nobles 1258.  
 had produced prosperity and success to the re-  
 public; but as the constitution remained the same,  
 and war alone had preserved the benevolent im-  
 pressions of John the preacher, as soon as war was  
 over the seditions of the citizens again disturb-  
 ed all their quiet and felicity. The Gallucci,  
 Lambertacci, Artenisi, Britti, Carbonefi, Scan-  
 nabecchi, all noble families and greatly esteemed  
 in Bologna, could no longer restrain their passions,  
 and, as the historian very justly observes, God  
 knows how they could have restrained them so  
 long. The Lambertacci were the first to set fire  
 to the train of jealousy and indignation, hatred  
 and revenge, and to begin the ruin of their  
 country. Provoked by some words, reported to  
 them by their flatterers, and perhaps invented or

\* Ghirardacci, lib. vi. p. 194.

exaggerated,

- exaggerated, they took arms; and coming fiercely to action with the Gieremei, a great quantity of blood was shed on both sides; and would have proceeded to greater extremities, if Ramponi, a man in high esteem, had not bravely interposed, and by his wisdom and valour, partly by persuasion and partly by force, brought them to an accommodation: yet the quarrel continued to break out at times; and prevailed even among the scholars. One of the tribunes of the city was dangerously wounded, and Raimendo, a Genoese, was beheaded, but this did not end the disorder. The Gallicci and Carbonefi took up the dispute, and several horrid murders were committed, and several of the dependencies of the republic, taking advantage of the opportunity, or excited by partisans, rebelled. The disorder lurked however in some degree of secrecy till 1260, when it broke out again, and the parties began to collect together companies of idle vagabonds, and on a thousand occasions endeavoured to come to action. Finally the Gieremei went out in arms against the Lambertacci, the Galucci against the Carbonefi, and the Lambertini against the Scannabecchi, the Artinesfi against the Britti; and continued for a long space of time in battle, each party assisted by the families of its adherents. The pretor, with all his court, and all their forces, were obliged to turn out, and partly by his menaces, and partly by some small remains of reverence for authority, he put a stop to this most sanguinary and horrible rencounter, and obliged those who remained alive to return to their houses.
1264. In 1264 these intestine broils were renewed, particularly between the families of Lambertacci and Gieremei, and while many were anxious to make peace between them, and were occupied in contriving the means of it,
- the



the Lambertacci, little inclined to any accommodation, by exerting all their influence and intrigues, on purpose to offend the Gieremei, procured that Peter Pagani, a powerful citizen of Imola, should be made lord of it, to the end that he might expel from thence all the friends of the Gieremei, and demolish all their houses, a commission which he fully executed. Imola, thus revolted from the obedience of Bologna, drove out Giacopino Prendiparte of Bologna, or, as others say, killed him, who was commissary and governor in the name of the city of Bologna. This action so displeased the senate, that they suddenly sent out a powerful army with the triumphal chariot, under the pretor, and obliged the usurper and his men to evacuate the post. But before this enterprise was finished, another tumult happened against the judges, one of whom, Ugucione, was assaulted and killed, and the parties were again upon the point of coming to a bloody decision, and it required the whole court in arms to disperse the tumult.—Before the end of the year another tumult arose in Imola, where the Bricci, principal leaders of that city, favourers of Cujano and Saffatello, had secretly introduced many men, and drove out of the city the Imindoli, their enemies or rivals. But the people were so displeased with this violence, that they rose upon the Bricci and their followers, and with the point of the sword drove them out of the city, and called in again the Imindoli. The senate, on the news of this fidelity, bestowed the highest praises on the people, and to reward them, by removing the cause of such inconveniences, ordered that for the future they should have no pretor at all, and that all their differences should be brought before the pretor of Bologna, to be adjudged with equity



equity and celerity, upon condition that they should pay the auditors or judges who should hear their controversies five hundred pounds a year. All this was cheerfully accepted by the people of Imola, as much preferable to continual quarrels in arms, to determine whether the Gieremei or Lambertacci should have the appointment of one of their instruments to be a pretor among them.

1265.

Clement the Sixth, among the first acts of his pontificate, invited into Italy Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis king of France; and Uberto count of Flanders, general of Charles's army, passed into Italy with 40,000 men. Bologna, with Milan, Bergama, Verona, Mantoua, Ferrara, joined the church and France; 4000 men under Guido Antonio Lambertini, a noble Bolognese, joined the pope and the king. The Lambertini indulging their enmity against the Bochetti, laid a plot one day to kill one of them, and thinking to find him in a certain place, where their spies had informed them he was, they went to seek him, but he was gone. In their return they met one of the Scannobecci; letting loose their malice against him, they killed him, and fled. The pretor, informed of their crime and flight, issued a proclamation against them, rifled their houses, and, to intimidate other malefactors, burnt them to the ground. Finding by these continual homicides that the government was too weak to restrain the parties, a new magistracy was created in the city of three men, who were to hear and prudently examine the differences among the nobles, and endeavour to appease them. Andano, Malavolti, and Ramponi, all men of great candour and singular prudence, were chosen. Andalo was of great authority with the Ghibellines, Malavolti with the

Guelphs,

Guelphs, and so was Ramponi. These, without respect of persons, judging with impartiality, had a wonderful effect in the city, and with great mildness composed many discords and long enmities, particularly between the Asinelli and Scannabecchi, among whom a great deal of blood had been spilled, and who had been a long time enemies; and, in a word, brought the city to a degree of tranquillity. It was this year that, hearing of the defeat and death of Manfred, the Ghibellines began to tremble, and the Guelphs to triumph. Florence chose two pretors from Bologna, the same Malavolti and Andalo, and erected their council of thirty-six Guelphs and Ghibellines, distinguished the city into factions of greater and lesser arts, and gave every art its gonfalonier; and this year Dante the poet was born.

Dante.

1267.

In 1267 Charles Calzolaio, finding a young man in Bologna in bed with his wife, killed him, to maintain his own honour, but was taken into custody, and sentenced to death by the pretor, as one who, contrary to the laws, had, by his own authority, done himself justice. This sentence appeared to be unjust to the other Calzolai, who tenderly loved their brother Charles, and they united together, mutually pledged their faith to each other to rescue him, and taking arms, went to the palace of the pretor, and forcibly delivered Charles from his prison. This excited in the city a mighty tumult, and so intimidated the pretor, that he concealed himself in a place of safety. The commotion subsided by the exertions of the consuls, and the fury of the Calzolai evaporated so far, that the senate ventured to enquire who were the authors of the tumult; but the heads of it were by this time escaped from the city, so that the company of the Calzolai were only fined in a sum of money. To

this uproar succeeded another still greater, between the Lambertini and Scannabecchi, in which many were left wounded, and many slain; among whom was Bartolomeo Guidoagni, a friend of the Lambertini. This tincture of blood enkindled the minds of the two parties to vengeance to such a degree, that, like mad dogs \*, they thought of nothing but persecution, murder, and extermination; and they collected their friends, both within and without the city, together to this effect. The consuls in office, to whom information was given of the danger, published a proclamation, that no man should be introduced or let into the city, if he were not previously known to the deputies appointed to superintend, who might know by that means the reason of his coming, and oblige him to lay down his arms. This prudent precaution in a few days quieted the factions, and the consuls, thinking the late disorder too light to be very severely punished, only made an example or two in each of the families, by confining one of the Lambertini in Mantoua, and one of the Scannabecchi in Florence; and because the consuls saw the violent enmities which prevailed among many noble families, which were in danger of increasing every day to more mortal rancour, they availed themselves of the resolution and prudence of Andalo and Malavolti, lately returned from Florence, by electing them to compose the peace of the city, giving them ample powers for that end: and this measure succeeded so far, that the Lambertini and Scannabecchi, the Gozzadini and Arienti, Guidoagni and Orsi, Calamatoni and Sangiorgi, Bianchetti and Piccigotti, and many other noble families, were reconciled, in the pre-

\* Come cani arrabbiati. Ghirardacci, p. 212.

\*

fence

sence of the consuls in the palace, with much satisfaction to the whole city. But as no measure of the executive could be taken without offence to some part of such a divided executive authority, the consuls, by annulling all the condemnations in the late disturbances, excited the indignation of the pretor Dandolo, so that he resigned his office. The consuls, who were not sorry for it, appointed Aurelio Roccadalla Torre, of Milan, in his stead; in this instance, as in many others, before and after, being obliged to appoint a foreigner for their first magistrate, to avoid the certain seditions and rebellions that would have been excited by the adverse party, if any natural-born citizen, however distinguished by merit, had been raised to this eminence, among his jealous peers.

In 1268 Alberto Caccianemici, for some offensive words of his nephew Guido, son of his brother Giuamonte, which were reported to him, without examining the truth of the information, in a fit of impatience for vengeance, called his two sons to him, and ordered them to go and put their cousin to death. His orders were executed with great inhumanity; but, in such a state of government and parties, the laws are overborne by popular and powerful individuals, and there is no justice to be had against them in a regular prosecution: so thought the people in this case, and therefore took upon themselves the punishment of so atrocious a cruelty, by rising in arms, and demolishing their houses. 1268.

In 1269 another instance of a similar but more important nature happened. The captain of the people governed severely in his office, and did not do justice to the people, as they said; and this provoked the wrath of the people so far, that they deposed him. The pretor took this deposition in 1269.

ill part, and thought that the principal authors of it ought to be punished, at least in some small degree, to discountenance such irregularity. But this irritated the people so highly, that, perceiving his danger, he thought it prudent to fly; and a new pretor, as well as captain, were appointed. Thus the discontented nobles, although they could not, from their opposition to each other, obtain the first offices in the state, had it always, in their power, by secret machinations with the people, to excite tumults, and distress, embarrass, and depose the foreigners who held them. There is an example of generosity in the gentlemen of Bologna, in the year 1270, too much to their honour, amidst all their quarrels, to be omitted. A great scarcity prevailed in all the cities of Tuscany and Lombardy, and the people of Bologna were reduced to extreme misery by famine. Upon this occasion all the noblemen, and other rich men of the city, had the charity to open their stores, and expose all their corn and grain to the people; and, not satisfied with this, they united together, collected all the money they had, or by their credit could borrow, and offered it to the senate, that it might be sent to Romagna, and other distant provinces, to procure a supply of bread for the city. This benevolent effort, however, produced an accidental ill effect; it occasioned a rivalry in the markets for grain between Bologna and Venice, which produced resentments, retaliating imposts and duties, and at last a war, in which the Venetians were conquered. But the city of Bologna could not enjoy its triumphs in peace: malignant spirits in secret scattered reports and calumnies to disturb the public tranquillity, sometimes against one illustrious citizen, and sometimes another. These rumours coming to the ears of the senate,



senate, they exerted all their skill to discover whether the crimes alledged had been committed or not; but, after all their diligence, found no evidence, but idle suspicions. Nevertheless the senators and people, taking the hint from these endeavours to excite disorders, judged it would be useful to create a new magistracy of three men, of the best lives, and most wisdom, to conserve the quiet of the city, and to administer justice, by rewarding the good, and chastising the insolent disturbers of the peace of others. To this end was given them ample authority to bear arms, and to take with them armed men; to imprison delinquents, and accommodate all disputes which should arise: and these were called the Magistrates of Peace. The three chiefs divided their people into three military classes: one was called of Lombardy, and to this was committed the red standard, with the figure of Justice holding a drawn sword in her hand; the second was called the Griffin, and to this was consigned the white standard, with a red griffin; the last was called della Branca, to which was allotted the white standard, with a red lion holding a sword. These companies were greatly esteemed in the city, and much honoured by the senate, who granted them signal privileges, registering the magistrates as true and noble citizens. While this new magistracy was wholly employed in the conservation of the honour and peace of the city, and daily reconciled the minds of the citizens, the rancour of private animosity broke out again in the murder of Philip of Bologna, one of the company of della Branca, by Soldano de Galluci, who fled, which beyond measure displeased the senate; and not having the murderer in their power, in order to give complete satisfaction to the company, they

published a capital proclamation against him, and demolished to their foundations all the houses he had both in town and country. By this exemplary punishment alone would the irritated minds of the company, who had arms in their hands, be pacified.

1272.

The next year it appears by the records, that, besides the pretor and captain of the people, four and twenty wise men (*sapienti*) were elected, six for each tribe, out of all the tribes of the city, by the *antiani*, to preserve the companies of the city. They elected also four citizens to oversee the plentiful supply of the city; and five and twenty other wise men to superintend the fortresses and castles in the country, as well as some things relative to the government in the city. All these inventions, dictated by distress, and the feeling as well as fear of the evils of discord, were only aggravations of the evil, as they only divided still more the executive power, without dividing the legislative; whereas the direct contrary ought to have been the remedy, viz. they ought to have united the executive power, and divided the legislative, and by that means have produced that trinity in unity, which is neither a contradiction nor a mystery, but is alone efficacious to curb the audacity of individuals, and the daring turbulence of parties. The judicial power, independent of all, is able to encounter any man or combination of men, without recurring to such rigorous measures, inconsistent with liberty, as these new magistrates in Bologna were obliged to adopt. In order to purge the city of its many popular disorders, they were obliged to forbid a great number of persons, under grievous penalties, to enter the palace; nor was it permitted them to go about the city, nor to bear arms. All this they were obliged

obliged to do to prevent collections of people in the streets. Afterwards some of the first people of the city were banished, and confined to certain places abroad, and; upon pain of death, sentenced to depart the city in three hours. It is provoking to read the perpetual cant of these historians, such as, that in this year, 1273, Bologna having compelled the Venetians to peace; and ruling over Imola, Faenza, Forli, and the castles of Romagna, in peace, and by fear, by the valour of its citizens might have become great and glorious, if civil discords had not begun again to commit their cruel ravages. These dissensions, on the contrary, proved the ruin of the city, and were the cause that, by little and little, she lost her ancient authority and grandeur, and from a patron she became a client, from a mistress a subject; a miserable fall, which began in this manner. There were in Bologna two most noble families, the Gieremei and the Lambertacci, between whom had long subsisted, not only the party prejudices of Guelphs and Ghibellines, but a rivalry for power and pre-eminence in the state; but neither party animosities nor family jealousies were able to prevent Imelda, a daughter of Orlando Lambertacci, a most beautiful young lady, from entertaining a partiality for Boniface, a son of Gieremia de Geremei, a most beautiful young man, who was desperately in love with her. This mutual passion thus increasing in their hearts from day to day, the two lovers at last found an opportunity to meet and converse together. The lady's brothers being engaged in some amusement at the house of the Caccianemici, having information of this interview, went to their sister's chamber, and finding Boniface there, fell upon him with their envenomed tempers and

1273.

weapons, and perforated in an instant his breast and his heart, their miserable sister flying in despair from their fury. Having committed the murder, they concealed the body in a sink, which ran under some apartment in the house, and fled from the city. The murderers departed, Imelda, full of apprehensions and terrible presages of what she should discover, ventured to return to her chamber, and seeing upon the floor a rivulet of blood, she followed its direction, and opening the place where her lover lay, she threw her delicate person on his body, still warm and bleeding, and distracted with tenderness and grief, applied her lips to his wounds, and drew in the poison with his blood; and while her thoughts were wholly confounded with the pangs of her grief for her lost lover, the poison spread over her whole frame to her heart, and Imelda fell dead into the arms of her Boniface. A catastrophe so tragical could not be recited on a stage, without affecting in the most sensible manner the most unfeeling audience. The discovery of it to the public in Bologna could not, one would think, but melt the most obdurate heart of faction, and soften the savage monster to humanity; but the effect of it was so contrary to this, that it wrought up the hatred between the two factions to a mortal contagion, which increased and spread till it ruined and enslaved the republic. While the unfortunate fate of Boniface and Imelda depressed the spirits of the two noble families, the senate understanding that the city of Forli had rebelled, and that the Aigoni, according to the stipulation, were not restored to their country, called the council together, and the question was proposed, Whether they ought first to march against the rebels of Forli, or merely to restore the Aigoni to Modena? The Lambertacci advised, that the

first



first attention should be given to the cause of the Aigonis; and on the contrary the Gieremei advised that they should first endeavour to subjugate Forli. The parties not agreeing in opinion, they began to fall into confusion. Finally, the council of the Gieremei prevailing, the army was sent out, and laid close siege to Forli.

The following year, the senate having much at heart the reduction of Forli, resolved, in order to chastise so great a disobedience, to order out the triumphal chariot, and all their army. The pretor enters the senate to take leave for his departure to the war, and there found Antonio Lambertacci labouring to convince them that the enterprize against Forli would not succeed. After having urged many arguments, he began to trample under foot the honour of the Gieremei, who had carried this point against him. Gieremeo Gieremei, who was present, provoked at his insolence, gave him the lye, and by mutual agreement they went out of the palace into the piazza, where they drew their swords and began the combat. A great crowd of the two factions soon gathered about them, and fell to fighting all together, so that much blood was shed, and the battle grew more hot, and greater numbers collected; when Gozzadini and Cavaliere, with many others, intervened, parted the combatants, and the Lambertacci returned to their houses. The pretor, who went with the people to the tumult, wishing to put some restraint of fear upon both parties, ordered four of the houses of each party to be demolished: but this severity had little or no effect; for having grown more cruel than ever against each other, they were almost every day in arms and action together. As this revolt was already divulged to the circumjacent cities, the companies della Bran-

1174.



ca, of the griffin, and of Lombardy, understanding that the Guelphs of Modena and the Ghibellines of Forli intended to come in to the aid of the two parties, took their arms, and, together with the people, posted themselves to guard the passages of the city; and receiving intelligence that the Guelphs of Modena were on their march, went out to meet them, and put them to flight and confusion at the point of the sword. The count da Panigo, who had armed himself in favour of the Lambertacci, hearing of this defeat of his friends, made his escape from the city; but his people were put to the sword by the company della Branca, who afterwards rased to the ground all the houses, not only of the count, but of his followers. The Ghibellines from Forli, friends of the Lambertacci, hearing of the slaughter of the Modenese and the followers of the count, made by the soldiers della Branca, suddenly retreated. These civil wars in Bologna were scarcely divulged abroad, when all Romagna, taking advantage of the occasion, rebelled; and for this reason the senate, together with the pretor and the companies, posted themselves at all the ways, to make peace between these two factions; in which enterprise they fortunately at length succeeded, and, after much reasoning and persuasion, they obtained hostages from both sides, and thus the city was quieted. While this peace was in treaty, the principal heads of the rebellion of Imola, of Faenza, and of Salarolo, dreading the resentment of the Bolognese at Forli, saved themselves by flight. The Bolognese were indeed formidable, for they were collecting a powerful army to march into Romagna. When it was embodied, the pretor of Bologna attempting to go out upon the campaign, Antonio Lambertacci,

bertacci, forgetting his plighted faith, and disregarding the fate of the hostages delivered, flew out again in arms to prevent the triumphal chariot from going out, and again commenced a plentiful effusion of blood. This sedition was the most terrible of any that had ever yet happened; it lasted forty days without intermission; so that Bologna became a haunt of murderers, and the streets ran down with human blood; the property of all men was subjected to depredation, the edifices were ruined, and the grandeur and glory of the city trodden under foot.

The Lambertacci were at last however overcome, fled from the city with all their accomplices, and went to Faenza, leaving their houses and palaces a prey to the people, which, in one word, were all levelled with the ground; and because the pretor and captain of the people had always held a good understanding with the Lambertacci, they were now deposed from the magistracy, although it is universally agreed that his judgment and decrees were unexceptionably impartial and upright. Fifteen thousand citizens were banished with them, whose names are distinctly written in a book among the records in the chamber of Bologna. These persons, scattered in various places, planted new families, as the Guerrini in Forli, the Bazzani and Sacchi in Parma, the Malpigli in Lucca, the Carrari in Ravenna, the Buoninsegna in Terni, the Maffei in Rome, the Bagarotti in Placentia and Padua; from which families have arisen men famous both in arms and letters. The Lambertacci sought an asylum in Faenza and in Forli, and fortified themselves in both those cities: but the Gieremei, not content with having driven them out of the city, endeavoured to chase them from the places where they were received;

received; wherefore, that they may not be taken by surprise, they sent to their friends in every place, particularly to the count di Montefeltro, the counts of Modiana, and to others of their faction, for succour. The banished citizens of Ravenna, being united with those of Forli, Ariminum, and other places, went to Forli, and from thence to Faenza, and there fortified themselves, and a little afterwards drove out the Manfredi; and passing afterwards to Castel San Piero, and from thence to Salarolo, where the Manfredi had resorted, and having taken the castle, many of their enemies were put to death, and many made prisoners and sent to Forli, among whom was Alberico Manfredi. At Bologna many of the faction of Lambertacci were imprisoned; and, as a report was spread that a powerful succour was arrived to the Gieremei, the Lambertacci, with their wives and children, fled to the mountains, and from thence to Faenza, where, with the assistance of their friends, they began to collect forces. The Gieremei, receiving information that the Lambertacci were preparing to return to Bologna, consulted in council upon the project of going out first in search of them. The resolution was taken with great precipitation, and they marched out with the triumphal chariot with great spirit to Romagna. The Ghibellines, who were apprised of their approach, went out suddenly to meet them in arms, and the Guelph party were defeated, leaving three of the Gieremei dead upon the field, and Alberghetto Manfredi mortally wounded and a prisoner. This reverse of fortune spread a terror in Bologna; but dreading the total loss of their city, they exerted themselves to the utmost to fortify it, and had recourse again to their confederates and friends; and in a short time assembled a strong  
army,

army. It is unnecessary to enumerate all the places and parties from whence each side drew their aids; but the triumphal chariot again went forth, and was met again by the Lambertacci and their allies, when another terrible engagement ensued, and the Lambertacci again remained victorious. Two thousand men were slain, among whom a great number of the principal nobles. The Lambertacci pursued their victory into the territory of Bologna, where they put every thing to fire and sword, destroying vines, trees, corn, and houses, and took a great number of castles, and it is supposed might have made themselves masters of the city, such was the panick in it, without striking another blow: but thinking they had done enough for the present, they returned to Faenza. The Bolognese finding their affairs unfortunate, both at home and abroad, deliberated on sending to king Charles for assistance, and two ambassadors accordingly went, Passaggieri and Prendiparti. Many citizens displayed their public spirit in defence of the city and senate, and subscribed large sums to defend their liberty: Passaggieri, for example, was so attached to the Gieremei, that he gave six thousand pounds for the common good. The senate by proclamation ordered, that every citizen possessed of a horse should have him recorded in a book, that they might know what assistance the militia might have in case of extremity, and the name of every man who then owned a horse is very carefully preserved as a family distinction.

The Lambertacci, after their victory over the Gieremei, did not fail to make incursions into the country of Bologna every day, disturbing now one place, and then another, in such a manner, that of that party there was not a castle, village,  
or



or city, that was not infested, or threatened with their arms. The Bolognese, apprehensive that the evil might extend itself too far, and that the people, wearied with so many calamities, might revolt, and having before their eyes what Rüdolph the emperor had done, they began to meditate a surrender of the city to the pope: ambassadors were appointed, who were humanely received, and their petition attended to, at Viterbo. The pope was vastly pleased with the submission of Bologna, and she acknowledged the church and the pontiff for her patron. The instrument is dated 29th July, 1278, by which the ambassadors, in the name of God, and of the podesta, captain, council, and commons, recognized the dominion, diction, law, jurisdiction, power, and principality of the city, territory, and district, in St. Peter, the keeper of the key of the kingdom of heaven, and in Nicolas the Third and his successors, Roman pontiffs, reserving the laws and rights of the city, territory, and district. Although the Gieremei discovered an obstinate aversion to any kind of peace or reconciliation with the Lambertacci, the pope conceived a great desire of uniting Romagna and Bologna in his interest, and, after long negotiations to that purpose, he succeeded to persuade both parties to listen to his proposals, and submit to his decision. The constitution of the pope Nicolas the Third, upon the reformation of the peace of the Bolognese, to wit, the Gieremei and Lambertacci, was made, and the prisoners on both sides set at liberty; and in 1279 the two factions of Gieremei and Lambertacci were assembled once more in the piazza of Bologna, in presence of the cardinals legates of the pope, appearing in great pomp and splendor. The families on the



the party of the Lambertacci and Gieremei were all recorded by name, and, after long orations made by the cardinals, the instruments were signed, and the oaths of perpetual peace and friendship taken by them all. The proceedings, as they remain on record, are very voluminous, and it is not possible a peace should be made with more solemnity or less reserve; but of what avail are pious exhortations, charitable resolutions, or solemn oaths, against inveterate passions in unbalanced governments?

1280.

In 1280 the Lambertacci, who could not live under the operation of the secret venom of their personal hatreds, which daily corroded in their hearts, making little account of the peace made, or the penalties imposed, burning with desire to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Gieremei, having taken their arms, flew to the piazza, and finding there a great number of their enemies, fell upon them with a sudden fury, and, after a long combat, pushed the Gieremei out of the piazza, and made themselves masters of it, and would have easily possessed the palace, if the captain, with two thousand men, had not rushed into the midst of the danger, and with the Caccianemici, Lambertini, Ariosti, Prendiparti, and other friends, opposed them, and, at the points of their swords, driven them back, and pursued them out of the city. The battle on both sides was bloody, and many principal men were killed in it, after performing prodigies of valour. The Lambertacci, thus again driven from the city with their arms, retired to the mountains with great loss, and the Gieremei proceeded to the old work of ruining their houses, within and without the city; and having issued a proclamation against a great number, they sent others into confinement, according to the usage in such cases in those times.

Berthold,

Berthold, the count of Romagna, the pope's nephew, immediately summoned all parties to appear before him, and give an account who were the aggressors in the late revolution, and prevailed upon the Gieremei and Lambertacci to give hostages to perform the award for settling their differences; but before the affair could be finished the pope died, and Berthold restored the hostages to the Guelphs, but the Lambertacci not conducting to his satisfaction, he carried theirs to Rome.

Bologna now remaining in the hands of the Gieremei, four officers were immediately created, whose duty it was to preserve the peace of the city, and to them was given the highest possible authority; and they began their operations with so much prudence and firmness, that their proceedings gave great satisfaction to the citizens, and with whatever they ordered or desired the people complied with affection and confidence, excepting some of the followers of the Lambertacci, who not being able to bear the sight of the city at peace, while their party were driven out of it, began, by slow degrees and secret practices, to consult of measures to make themselves masters of the city, and restore their banished party. For many days they discoursed together in secret upon this project, and hoping that fortune might for once favour and assist them, they determined finally to assault the piazza; and because all the city was in security, and lived in peace, they readily persuaded themselves, that by surprise their design would succeed. One day, at the hour of dinner, issuing out in arms, and crying with a lively accent, *The people and the church!* they seized on the two mouths of the piazza. The Gieremei, as soon as they were alarmed, ran out with the people in  
general

general with arms in their hands, and coming to a fierce engagement with their enemies, after a plentiful effusion of blood, drove them out of the city to the mountains, to go from thence to Faenza and inhabit with their friends. The city of Bologna now purified of all tumults, the senate attended to the fortification of all the fortresses and castles in the country, placed strong garrisons, and furnished plenty of provisions, and all things necessary; and the commanders placed in them, we may well suppose, were all good Guelphs and Gieremeites. The Lambertacci having taken refuge in Faenza, and partly in Forli, those who were in Faenza following the activity, ardour, and boldness of their genius, began to live with so much liberty, that it appeared as if Faenza was their own: this conduct was observed, and excited not only much censure, but the greatest malevolence in the citizens, and among others, in Tibaldello Zambrasio, one of the most noble in Faenza. This nobleman, seeing himself exposed to the ridicule of the town, on account of a pig which the Lambertacci had made so free as to take from him, and because they had threatened his life for demanding the restoration of it, grew into such a rage, that he swore he would lose his life, or have satisfaction. After talking much of various projects, he at last determined upon one which he had never talked of at all. He pretended to be sometimes seized with a melancholy humour; went strangely out of his house sometimes, flying the company of his friends and relations; appearing in the streets uncommonly thoughtful, sometimes talking to himself of a variety of things, and muttering imperfect sentences. Having held this course of life for some days, his infirmity became divulged through the whole city. In a few

days more, without confiding his secret to his father or any other, he counterfeited the part of a complete idiot; and his behaviour was so wild, whimsical, and extravagant, that he appeared both to his father and brother to be wholly bereaved of his understanding, threw his family into distress, and the whole city into the utmost astonishment, to see a nobleman, who had ever shewn so much prudence as to be held in high esteem, fallen suddenly into such misfortune and disgrace, though so worthy of compassion. In a few days more he took from his own farm an old mare, wholly worn out, and reduced to a mere skeleton; and having shaved her with a pair of scissars, transformed her into such an object as excited the laughter of every one who saw her. In this condition he led her into the city, and there turned her loose. The boys soon collected about the animal, and beat and terrified her till she ran, with all the strength and spirit that remained in her, throughout the whole city, and occasioned a general hubbub wherever she went. The Lambertacci, knowing nothing of the notorious fact, any more than of the secret motive, were alarmed with suspicions that their enemies were rising, seized their arms, and ran about to every place where they heard the loudest shouts and noises. Finding it was only an idle populace insulting Tibaldello's mare, they joined with others in the laugh, and returned to their houses. The same pageantry having been repeated more than once afterwards, the Ghibelines became so secure, that when they heard a similar cry, they said it was only Tibaldello's mare. Rising at length to the third stage of counterfeited madness, Tibaldello ran about the streets in the night, and cried out, "To arms! to arms!" and taking in his hands the padlocks and bars of the  
city

city gates, which were sometimes carelessly left, he raised a very great multitude, and a mighty rumour, so as again to alarm the Lambertacci, and drive them to their arms: but finding it another freak of Tibaldello, they threatened him severely if he should make any more such disturbance, and returned. By these whimsical movements, frequently repeated, he so effectually quieted the suspicions of the Lambertacci and Ghibellines, that upon any such uproar they laughed with the rest, and made themselves merry with the crazy whimsies of Tibaldello. With so much art and perseverance was the folly simulated, that all suspicions were quieted, not only in the Ghibellines, but in the whole city; and the belief of his irrecoverable folly was universal. Having pursued his plan thus far with success, he opened himself in perfect confidence with a very faithful friend, made him acquainted with his design, and desired him to prepare with secrecy two habits of monks, in a sack, and meet him the next day in a forest in the neighbourhood of Faenza. This was done, and at the hour prescribed they met, Tibaldello having gone out of town with all the appearance of a madman, disguised like a falconer, with two dogs attending him, and an hawk in his hand, to the high diversion of every one that met him. Arrived at a lonely place in the forest, he set his dogs and his hawk at liberty, and with his faithful companion, putting on the habits of friars, that they might not be known by any whom they might meet on the road, and travelling all night, at the opening of the gates in the morning they arrived at Bologna, and took lodgings at the house of Alberto Battagliucci. To Guido Ramponi he related all that had passed, explained his intentions, and by his favour obtained an intro-



duction to the council of secrecy. Here he opened his whole design, and the desire he had to chastise the Lambertacci; and shewed them of how much importance it was to them to embrace the present opportunity to remove from their sight and their apprehensions those enemies of their city and people, who were constantly employed in schemes of mischief against both. The counsel of Zambrasi was received with pleasure by the whole body, and the business was referred to the four superintendants of peace, under oath to keep this a secret. To these Tibaldello methodically communicated his plan, and demanded only for himself, and all the family of Zambrasi, and Ghirardone his faithful friend, and his family, to be made citizens of Bologna; and to send hostages for security for what was to be done. The offers of Tibaldello were very satisfactory to the pretor, and Guidotto Prendiparte pledged himself for the family of Zambrasi. The four superintendants made him relate the method and means by which every thing was to be conducted; and the stratagem appearing to be practicable, they took an oath again to keep the whole a secret. The whole business concluded on, they took leave of Zambrasi, who went to conduct the hostages, and setting out the same evening, reached Faenza at the opening of the gates, and entered the city without being known by any one. Arrived at his house, he found his whole family in great affliction. To his aged father alone he related in order the progress he had made, by means of a feigned madness, in his plan against those who had made little account of the honour of his family and blood: the father, with joy beyond expression, and a thousand embraces of his son, caused to be assembled in his house all their relations,

tions, to whom, in an eloquent and prudent harangue, Tibaldello related all his actions and designs. All with one voice and one heart offered to devote themselves to take vengeance on the Lambertacci. Tibaldello, to whom an hour appeared a thousand years, till he could see an end of his enterprize, the next day sent secretly his three brothers, viz. Zambraso, Guido, and Fiorino, to Bologna, conducted by Ghirardone, informing the four superintendants of what they had to do, and of the hour when their soldiers ought to appear at Faenza. The hostages received, the council assembled digested every particular, and secretly gave orders that all the passes should be secured, that no one might be able to send intelligence of any thing that happened. On the 23d of August, 1281, the army of Bologna was formed, and in order marched out of the city, with all the Guelph party; and, by a forced march the whole night, they were early in the morning at the gate appointed: finding it open, they freely entered the city, and were conducted to the place intended for action. The Zambrafi had embarrassed and stopped up the streets where they thought proper; and Tibaldello, as usual, feigning to excite a rumour with his keys at the gates of the houses of the Lambertacci, in truth many of them were shut up by the mob, so that they could not go out. The whole apparatus being ready, he set up a cry of, *Live the church!* and *Away with all the traitors!* and while he was terrifying the city with this horrid outcry, the Bolognese, with the utmost security, made themselves masters of the piazza of the city. The Ghibellines, followers of the Lambertacci, hearing the noise of voices, and the sound of arms, rang the bells, assembled a great number, and hastened to the piazza, there to fortify

tify themselves; but finding the Guelphs already in possession, began the conflict. The particulars of this engagement, the danger of one and intrepidity of another individual, are not now material. The action was sharp and bloody; and after mighty feats of valour on both sides, and many killed and wounded, the Lambertacci were defeated, and such as could, obliged to fly into the country; all who could not, were put to the sword. Nine of the principals fled to a church or monastery for sanctuary, but were there miserably put to death. Besides five hundred prisoners, a multitude of others wretchedly perished in the sinks and ditches. The Bolognese having obtained the victory, and by means of it the complete dominion of Faenza, pardoned the Faentines, but confiscated all the property of the Lambertacci and their adherents, both within and without the city. Finally, they appointed a new pretor, and a sufficient guard, and triumphantly conducted Tibaldello Zambrasi, his father, and with them Zambraso, Guido, and Fiorino, who were hostages, and their sister, and other relations, who were all made by the senate not only citizens, but nobles of Bologna. The same honours and immunities were conferred on Ghirardone and his relations, to all of whom the senate gave houses and possessions, and they enjoyed all the most respectable offices in the state. As the victory was the 24th of August, the senate ordained an annual festival of St. Bartholomew's day, in perpetual commemoration of Tibaldello; in which his pig, his mare, his hawks, dogs, friar's dress, and city keys, were all transmitted, in sculpture and marble, to the amusement and astonishment of posterity.

The

The nobles of the party of Lambertacci, who were still remaining in Forli, sent ambassadors to the pope, to obtain peace, but they could accomplish nothing: the pope not only refused to receive them, but ordered them to return. The Gieremei sent ambassadors, and they were admitted to an audience, and received with dignity; and by their persuasions the pope sent Giovanni Appia, a French gentleman, a counsellor of king Charles, with eight hundred cavalry, to recover Forli. The pope made him count of Romagna, and he went with the ambassadors to Bologna, where he was received with great honour; where he remained, however, but a short time: for having in 1282 dispatched what belonged to his office, he took with him two of the tribes of the city, and marched into the territory of Ravenna. From thence he wrote to the republic of Forli, commanding them to send out of their city the count Guidone da Feltrio, and all the foreigners; but he was not obeyed, because neither the count, nor the Lambertacci, to whom he wrote at the same time, were willing to go. Their refusal gave occasion to another long war, and to all the fire and sword, stratagems and massacres, as well as carnage in battle, that usually attended all their wars. But though these evils also originated in the same source, the imperfect constitution of Bologna, they may be passed over.

1282.

It seems there were still some persons left in Bologna of the name of Lambertacci, one of whom, in 1285, came to blows with one of the Scannabecchi, under the piazza, which occasioned another rising of the people in arms. They were both put to flight, but overtaken in the country, and beheaded; and all the party of the Lambertacci were again declared rebels, and all their fa-

1285.



milies banished to a certain distance in the city, and confined to places assigned them. The wise men (*sapienti*) afterwards made a provision, that all those of the party of the Lambertacci, who had taken an oath of fidelity to the church and the party of the Gieremei, according to a general regulation made in the council of the commons and people of Bologna, should be cancelled from the books of the exiles, excepting those who, since taking the oath, had gone to live in Faenza, Forli, and other places, and united themselves with the enemies of the people of Bologna, with this exception, that none who had been of the party of the Lambertacci, at the time of the first commotion, should be of the council, or hold any office. This regulation gave great satisfaction to the city, and a general tranquillity. But the government had not strength to preserve the peace. In 1286. a private quarrel, arising, however, probably from the general state of parties, happened, in which Guarladi, of the company della Branca, was killed. The government was neither able to punish the murderer, nor to prevent the people from taking it upon themselves in their own way. They took arms for revenge, and ruined all the houses, towers, trees, and other property of the persons guilty or suspected, both in the city and out of it, and of all their relations. But the new government could not long remain quiet. The council of eight hundred, and the people, having their eyes fixed upon the general utility of the city and its district, that all things might be governed with consummate prudence, gave orders to the *sapienti* to examine how a new council might be established, of two thousand persons, of sufficient wisdom, charity, and property, to support the weight of the commonwealth. The *sapienti*,  
 elected



electd by the antieni and consuls, having maturely deliberated and debated, ordained that the new council of two thousand should be electd by ballot in that council; that is to say, that an hundred electors for each tribe should be appointed, each of whom should have the election of five members of the new council; that each one should be not less than eighteen, nor more than seventy years of age, and should be truly of the party of the church and of the Gieremei of the city of Bologna, and so held and reputed in the time of the first commotion which happened in the city; that he should not be a servant\*, a puppet-showman, a porter, nor a foreigner, &c. nor a constant inhabitant of the country of Bologna, and shall have been a constant resident in the city for twenty years; shall be rated to the public taxes, and have paid his share of the public collections; shall be known in the lists of the public factions, but shall not be a clergyman, or ecclesiastical person, nor of any other city, castle, or land, which has favoured the Ghibelines, or the party of the Lambertacci. If there were any one at present in the council, in any of the cases enumerated in this order, he may not be chosen by any elector whatsoever; and if he shall have a brief of an elector, he may not elect himself in any manner. That no one should be electd contrary to the preceding form, under penalty of banishment, and a fine of twenty pounds, for every one that should violate it, and for every offence; and none who should be electd contrary to this order should take the oath of a counsellor, nor proceed to choose another, under the

\* Non sia servo, burattino, brentatore, fachino, nè fumante, o forrestiero.

same penalty. That every election made against it should be null, and that any one might inform secretly or openly of a breach of this law, and obtain the penalty. That the antiani, consuls, and doctors of laws, and their notaries, should be of this council *ex officio*, in addition to the number of two thousand; but none was to be a member who was not a native of the city. The senate then caused to be distinctly recorded, in three books, the names of the banished Lambertacci, and repaired the triumphal chariot \* and its standard, and painted it with the portraits of six saints, and laid out upon it no less than thirty pounds and ten pence. Many other regulations and precautions were taken by the triumphant faction of the Gieremei, to fortify themselves in the government, and exclude, in the most decided manner, every man who had any tincture or connection of the opposite party; but still there were not wanting many seditious persons insidiously meditating to undermine their tranquillity, and to favour those who were held to be rebels against them: so that the senate were frequently alarmed, and full of apprehensions of the total ruin of the city. They saw that almost the whole country was one continued tavern of the banished (*banditti*), and to put some restraint upon their temerity, purge the city and country both of such a dangerous plague, and quiet the seditions of the nobles, they assembled the antiani, consuls, and all the *sapienti*, and made many ordinances against the banished rebels, to the end that no fresh revolution might be attempted; and made it a capital crime to attempt or propose, or even to speak or reason about, their restoration or pardon †.

In

\* Carrocio.

1288.

† There is another anecdote in 1288, which, although it remains in mysterious obscurity, may yet be alledged as an instance

In the beginning of the year 1289 all their prudence appeared to be ineffectual; for in their own faction, and in the new government, were

1289.

instance of these extravagant characters, irregular events, and atrocious actions, which always abound in such governments, render the protection of the laws precarious, and life and liberty insecure. Ambassadors had been sent by the republic to Forli, and to the count of Romagna; and other ambassadors were sent to the marquis of Este, to congratulate him upon his interposition to promote an accommodation between the citizens of Reggio, who were truly of the party of the church; and that by his councils and mediation he would prevail upon Bettino Gallucci, elected captain of Reggio, to hearken to reason, and restore some merchandises taken at Rubiera from Bolognese merchants. Lamberto Baccilieri, a Bolognese, had contracted friendships with many persons in the court of Obizzo, marquis of Este, and frequented familiarly all the courtiers of that prince; so that he was held to be one of that court. Finding Obizzo at table one day at dinner, Lamberto, without being observed by any one, approached very near the person of the prince, drew his dagger, and with a rapid and malicious force of his arm gave him an unexpected stroke across the visage. Azzo the prince's son, and all the other courtiers and citizens present, laid their hands upon their arms, and rushed upon the malefactor to put him to death; but Obizzo, though his face was covered with blood, had the presence of mind to command them to desist, but ordered him to be put to the torture, to make him confess from what motive, and at whose instigation, he had made such a desperate attempt. After a long and cruel examination on the rack, he declared that he had not done it by the orders, or at the desire, or by the advice of any one, nor excited by any hope, nor in consequence of any previous conversation or thoughts, but that he had been urged on by a sudden fury. This confession not being credited, he was examined again repeatedly; but, with the same constancy and fortitude, persevered in the same confession, nor could all his torment extort from him any other answer. Finally, bound to the tails of four asses, he was dragged through all the city of Ferrara, and afterwards hanged. This action is an example of that contempt of life, that inveteracy of resolution, and that immovable fortitude, which is sometimes inspired by the inflamed passions of party: but his denial is by no means a proof that the plan was not concerted.

two parties still, the nobles and plebeians, and a tumult arose between them. The senate, the pretor of the preceding year, and the people, became involved in the dispute, till the pretor thought his life in danger, and secretly went away from the city with many of his friends. The want and the necessity of representatives of the people was felt at this time; and whether it was to obtain information, or to throw off a burthen of care and labour, or to gratify some aspiring individuals, or to please the people, or to extend their influence, or whether all these motives concurred, the antiani, assembled in the chamber of the pretor, considered among themselves what ought chiefly to be done relative to the war, at this time to be carried on in conjunction with their confederates; and they ordained, that two wise men, of exemplary lives, should be elected from each tribe, who should examine, and in concert with them, the antiani, enquire in what state were the stipendiaries of the commons of Bologna, and see whether the soldiers had their horses according to law, and whether provision was made of money to pay salaries, wages, &c. But who was to elect these wise men? Not the people; not the tribes themselves: this would have made two centres, and all authority must be in one. The antiani themselves therefore elected them: and in the afternoon the antiani and the wise men assembled together, and consulted generally about the soldiers; and it was concluded, that the number in pay ought not to be diminished, but rather increased; and that particular attention should be given to the collection of the revenue upon several articles, as grain, salt mills, &c. that money might be had in season to pay the soldiers their stipends, &c.

But

But there is not time nor room to pursue this relation. It must be sufficient to add, that the affairs went on in this curious manner to the final catastrophe of all such governments, an establishment of absolute power in a single man. There were in Italy, in the middle age, an hundred or two of cities, all independent republics, and all constituted nearly in the same manner. The history of one is, under different names and various circumstances, the history of all: and all had the same destiny, excepting two or three that are still decided aristocracies, an exit in monarchy. There are extant a multitude of particular histories of these cities, full of excellent warning for the people of America\*. Let me recommend it to you, my young friend, who have time enough before you, to make yourself master of the Italian language, and avail your country of all the instruction contained in them, as well as of all the art, science, and literature, which we owe to Greece, Italy, and Palestine, countries which have been, and are our masters in all things.

\* By all of them is verified the observation of a liberal writer, quoted before: "These republics were all exposed to almost daily revolutions, and seldom did the system of administration continue a whole year the same." *Danina, Revolutions of Literature*, c. v. sect. 10.



## LETTER V.

NEUCHÂTEL.

Dear Sir,

**T**HE sovereign, or rather the first magistrate of this monarchical republic, is the king of Prussia. The principality is composed of two counties, Neuchâtel and Valengin, which were united in one single sovereignty by the dukes of Longueville, whose family became extinct in 1707: the country submitted to the king of Prussia, who, by right of reversion, re-demanded Neuchâtel as a vacant fief of the house of Châlons, inherited by the princes of Orange, who laid claim to all its rights.

The authority of the king is limited by the great privileges of the country. The sovereignty is exercised conjointly, 1. By the king's governor, who presides in the assembly of the states. 2. By the body of the three estates, composed of twelve judges, who administer justice in the last resort, and are four counsellors of state for the nobility. Four officers of judicature for the second rank, taken from the four chatellanies and the fifteen mayories. Four counsellors of the city, which is governed by sixty-four persons, who administer ordinary justice, and who are the four ministraux. Twenty-four persons for the little council, and forty for the grand council.—The relation of this republican principality with the Helvetic body consists in an ancient fellow-citizenship with the four cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure; but the canton of Berne is particular protector,

protector, and the declared arbiter between it and its prince, since 1406. The city of Neuchatel has also a strict alliance of fellow-citizenship with Berne. The whole country subject to it contains twelve leagues in length and six in breadth, and is extremely well peopled: for it contains three cities, one bourg, ninety large villages, and three thousand houses, scattered at a distance from each other. It is consolidated out of two counties, Neuchatel and Valengin; two baronies, Gorgier and Vaumarcus, which belong to a nobleman of Berne; four lordships, Travers, Noiraque, Rosieres, and Colembier; one priory, Vautravers; five abbeys. At this day this princely republic is divided into four chatellanies, and fifteen mayories. The first count of Neuchatel that is known is Ulric, who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. He had a son named Bertold, who, in 1214, made a convention with the inhabitants, concerning the rights, liberties, and franchises of the citizens and people of the country. In 1406 the inhabitants of Neuchatel obtained a confirmation of their liberties of John of Châlons, lord of the county. In 1519 they obtained another confirmation of their rights and liberties, and an acknowledgment, that their princes have no power over them but with their own consent. They have even changed their religion; and, in 1530, abolished the mass, and all the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church, without the consent of their prince. Yet they suffered the house of Orleans Longueville to continue to enjoy their rights and revenues. The last male of this line died in 1694. The prince of Conti wanted to succeed by testament; but the three estates were against him, and rejected his demands in 1694 and 1699. At this time William, prince of

1702.

1707.

of Orange, and king of Great Britain, maintained that he had pretensions on the county, derived from the house of Châlon. At the death of this prince, in 1702, the king of Prussia declared himself his heir, as the son of the eldest sister of king William's father; and contended, that the principality of Orange, and the county of Neuchatel, belonged to him. In 1707, after the death of Mary of Orleans, who had been invested in this principality by the three estates in 1694, the king of Prussia demanded the investiture of Neuchatel of the three estates, who granted it him because he was of their religion, and rejected the relations of the deceased, and all other pretenders. His son, by the ninth article of the peace of Utrecht, obtained an acknowledgment from Louis XIV. of him as sovereign lord of Neuchatel and Valengin. Although the inhabitants are jealous of their liberties, they are nevertheless attached to their prince. It is to the body of the states alone that it belongs to make statutes, laws, and ordinances, and they represent the sovereignty, and exercise the supreme authority. The king's governor presides in it, but enters not into consultation with the counsellors. It was this tribunal which gave the investiture to the kings, and before whom every pretender must make out his claim. Without descending to a particular account of this princely republic, let me refer you to the *Dictionnaire de la Martiniere*, and to *Faber*, printed at the end of the sixth volume of it, and to *Cox's Sketches*, and conclude with hinting at a few features only of this excellent constitution.—None but natives are capable of holding any office, civil or military, excepting that of governor. The same incapacity is extended to natives, who are in the service of any foreign prince. All the citizens have

have a right to enter into the service of any foreign state, even though at war with Prussia. The three estates of Neuchatel and Vallengin shall be assembled every year. The magistrates and officers of justice hold their employments during good behaviour; nor is the king the judge of ill behaviour. The king, at his accession, takes an oath to maintain all the rights, liberties, franchises, and customs, written or unwritten. The king is considered as resident only at Neuchatel, and therefore, when absent, can only address the citizens through his governor and the council of state. No citizen can be tried out of the country, or otherwise than by the judges. The prince confers nobility, and nominates to the principal offices of state, civil and military: the chatelains and mayors, who preside in the several courts of justice, are also of his nomination. The prince in his absence is represented by a governor of his own appointing. He convokes the three estates; presides in that assembly, has the casting vote, and the power of pardon: in his absence, his place is supplied by the senior counsellor of state. The three estates form the superior tribunal; and to them lies an appeal from the inferior courts of justice. They are composed of twelve judges, divided into three estates: the first consists of the four senior counsellors of state, who are noble; the second, of the four chatelains of Landeron, Boudry, Valde Travers, and Thielle; the third, of four counsellors of the town of Neuchatel. The judges in the first and second division hold their places for life; those in the third are appointed annually.

The council of state is entrusted with the execution of the laws, the administration, and police. They are nominated by the king, and not limited in number.

The legislative authority resides conjunctively in the prince, the council of state, and the town or people, each of which has a negative. Their criminal laws are mild, and the penalty marked out with precision: and personal liberty is tenderly and securely protected, as it is in England or America, where the same laws in substance and spirit prevail. The liberties of the people, though the most absolute monarch in Germany is first magistrate, are better secured than even in the most democratical cantons of Switzerland, where there is no property to contend for beyond the value of a pail of milk, a kid, or a lamb. Liberal encouragement is given to strangers to settle in the country. They enjoy every privilege of trade and commerce. This enlarged policy has greatly augmented their population, while a narrower principle in some of the Swiss cantons occasions a decrease of their people. The ancient constitution of Rhodes was probably much like this of Neuchatel, in three branches, and was accordingly celebrated as one of the best models of government in antiquity, and had effects equally happy upon the order, liberty, commerce, and population of that country. This happy mixture in three branches has been the never-failing means of reconciling law and liberty, in ancient and in modern times. *Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita æquatas leges, si sua quisque jura ordo, suam majestatem teneat* \*. This is the only constitution in which the citizens can be truly said to be in that happy condition of freedom and discipline, sovereignty and subordination, which the Greeks expressed so concisely by their *Ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι*.

\* Liv. lib. iii. c. 63.



*Who knows in union's closer bands to draw  
The opposing claims of liberty and law,  
Shall gain from virtue's breath a purer fame  
Than all the poet or the sage can claim\*.*

*When will the tut'lar gods of Rome awake,  
To fix the order of our wayward state?  
That we may once more know each other;—know  
Th' extent of laws, prerogatives, and dues;  
The bounds of rules and magistracy; who  
Ought first to govern, and who must obey?  
It was not thus when godlike Scipio held  
The scale of power; he who, with temp'rate poise,  
Knew how to guide the people's liberty  
In its full bounds, nor did the nobles wrong†.*

\* Pye's Poems, vol. i. p. 154, 155.

† Otway's Fall of Marius, Act i. sc. 1.

F I N I S.











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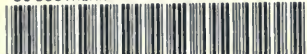
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